

Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies

JAZZ IN SOVIET ESTONIA FROM 1944 TO 1953: MEANINGS, SPACES AND PARADOXES

Heli Reimann

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of the Faculty of Arts of
the University of Helsinki for public examination in Auditorium XV,
University main building, on 28 November 2015 at 11.00.

Thesis supervisors:

Professor Pirkko Moisala, University of Helsinki, Finland

Professor Emeritus Bruce Johnson, Macquarie University, Sydney

Pre-examiners:

Professor Tony Whyton, Birmingham City University, UK

Professor Emeritus Steven Feld, University of New Mexico, US

Opponent:

Professor Tony Whyton, Birmingham City University, UK

ISBN 978-951-51-1639-0 (E-Thesis)

Helsinki 2015

ABSTRACT

In Estonian jazz history, the period from 1944 to 1953 was dynamic and contradictory, when the official status of jazz changed from a highly prized musical form during the postwar era to *musica non grata* by 1950. While jazz symbolised victory and friendship with the Allies in the immediate postwar period, subsequent Soviet ideological campaigns targeted jazz as the focus of Soviet ideological attacks against the entire Western world and its values. Despite Soviet power's attempts to obliterate jazz from cultural life, rather than disappear, jazz music moved into more secret private spaces. Known as Sovietisation in Estonian history and as Late-Stalinism in Soviet history, this period witnessed extensive social changes in Estonia. On the one hand, throughout this era, the Soviet occupying regime aimed to consolidate its power base. On the other hand, Late-Stalinism is known for its intense ideological pressure, which for creative intelligence meant a tightening of creative freedom established through the ideological doctrine of Zhdanovshchina.

This article-based dissertation on Soviet Estonian jazz history offers new insights into the meaning of this popular cultural form of Western origin and how it functions in the Soviet society. I argue that the meaning of jazz culture in Soviet Estonia emerges from the dynamic interaction between Soviet socio-political forces, the actions of cultural agents and the traditions of jazz culture. As the study demonstrates, the Great Friendship decree of 1948 led to the 'rupture' of the music and the disappearance of the word 'jazz' from the public space. However, cultural actors who selected their 'strategies of action' from the available cultural repertoire played the crucial role in shaping jazz culture. The study's focus on the everyday life of jazz musicians reveals that self-actualisation was the driving force feeding their motivation. The musicians' everyday strategies for self-actualisation include touring, musical learning and listening, ritualising, humour, inventiveness, curiosity, dedication, and intellectualising jazz. Our current understanding of jazz tradition is related to what can be called the jazz-as-a-tradition paradigm. This paradigm refers to a relatively recently constructed overarching American-centred narrative which historians, critics and musicians have consistently drawn around jazz. The example of Estonian jazz tries to reconstruct the jazz-as-a-tradition paradigm and to create its own array of cultural and historical meanings. The important schemata identifying jazz in Estonia are classical/light, professional/amateur, bourgeois/proletarian, swing/bebop, and dance/concert.

In addition, I aim to provide theoretical schemata for investigating and interpreting

jazz culture under the Soviet regime. I expect these schemata to facilitate our understanding of the particularities of the Soviet cultural model and the translation of the essence of jazz culture in Soviet Estonia to a broader international readership. As a primary conceptual outcome of my dissertation, I propose a holistic framework called ‘cultural spaces of action’. This framework advances the sociological model of private/public distinction, which is of crucial importance in understanding Soviet society. Instead of a simplistic dualistic model, I provide a four-dimensional framework which highlights (1) the interaction of jazz culture and state power, and (2) the distinction of forms within jazz culture. According to this model, jazz culture existed as journalistic discourse, as professional concert music, as amateur dance music, and as an intellectualised formal educational practice. The benefit of the model is its ability to avoid the common strategies of confrontation between ‘Soviet power’ and ‘culture’, where power is perceived to suppress creative people, and to disclose the paradoxical nature of jazz in the Soviet Union, where jazz was concurrently forbidden, but never silent.

This interdisciplinary study benefits from multiple research traditions; it subscribes to the principles of New Cultural History in its emphasis on meaning and interpretations. These interpretations are guided by the central ideas of constructionist history, which states that history stems from the dialogue between the historian and the past, born of the historian’s imaginative and constructive engagement with the evidence. As a study of a global musical form in a national historical context and under regional socio-political conditions, it deploys the ideas of transnational history: the study decentralises the idea of the national and amalgamates perspectives and contexts of Estonian, Soviet and jazz historiographical traditions. The methodological approach also includes microhistory – the intensive historical investigation of a relatively well-defined smaller object. I refer to source pluralism as the main research method, as it combines fragments from various sources including archival materials (radio broadcasts, newspapers), and interviews, as well as the recorded memories and the private documents of the people who experienced Soviet life.

CONTENTS

Abstract	3
Contents.....	5
Acknowledgements	6
List of original publications	7
1 DEFINING THE PROBLEM.....	9
1.1 Studying Estonian jazz	9
1.2 Personal statement.....	11
1.3 Research subject, questions and arguments	14
1.4 Articles	16
2 THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS	19
2.1 Historiographical overview and scholarly geographies	19
2.1.1 Studies on Estonian history	19
2.1.2 Soviet studies.....	21
2.1.3 Jazz studies.....	22
2.2 Conceptualizing the historical period from 1944-1953.....	25
2.2.1 Totalitarianism	25
2.2.2 Late-Stalinism	26
2.2.3 Sovietisation	29
2.2.4 Cold War	31
2.3 Culture	32
2.3.1 Theorising Soviet culture	32
2.3.2 Soviet culture in ‘action’	37
3 METHODS AND MATERIALS	47
3.1 New Cultural History	48
3.2 Writing history from a transnational perspective	51
3.3 Sources, classification of sources	52
3.4 Methods applied	53
4 FINDINGS: SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES	56
5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS.....	65
References	70

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Pirkko Moisala and Professor Bruce Johnson, who supported and guided me towards the completion of my project. I am also indebted to my fellow doctoral students for their inspiring discussions and comments in our research seminars at the University of Helsinki.

I owe the utmost gratitude to the Finnish Doctoral Program in Musicology; my membership in this program (2011–2015) allowed me to participate in seminars and lectures delivered by outstanding music scholars from Finland and abroad, and to remain in a nurturing scholarly environment. The research for my thesis benefited from the financial support of the Alfred Kordelin Foundation. I am grateful to the University of Helsinki for several Chancellor's Travel Grants, which enabled me to participate in conferences and opened new perspectives on my academic career. I also thank all my interviewees – Uno Loop, Udo Treufeldt and Kalju Terasmaa – for their friendliness and sincere desire to help. Sadly, Oleg Sapozhnin and Peeter Saul must receive my gratitude posthumously.

And lastly, I thank my family and friends for the patience and constant support during the years of my studies and research. I would like to give special thanks to my dear friend Vivika Oksanen for her kind help and support.

I dedicate this work to the 'father' and 'grand old man' of Estonian jazz, Valter Ojakäär.

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

Study I (SI)¹:

Reimann, Heli. 2013. Jazz Research and the Moments of Change. *Etnomusikologian vuosikirja*, 8-33.

Study II (SII):

Reimann, Heli. 2011. Ideology and the cultural study of Soviet Estonian jazz. In *The Jazz Chameleon*, ed. Janne Mäkelä, 23-35. Turku: JAPA.

Study III (SIII):

Reimann, Heli. 2014. Late-Stalinist ideological campaigns and the rupture of jazz: ‘jazz-talk’ in the Soviet Estonian cultural newspaper Sirp ja Vasar. *Popular Music*, 33 (03), 509 – 529.

Study IV (SIV):

Reimann, Heli. (forthcoming) Swing Club and the meaning of jazz in late 1940s Estonia. In *The meaning of jazz in socialist societies*, ed. Rüdiger Ritter. Estimated time of publication November 2015.

Study V (SV):

Reimann, Heli. (forthcoming) Four spaces four meanings: Narrating jazz of late-Stalinist Estonia. In *Jazz and Totalitarianism*, ed. Bruce Johnson. Routledge. Estimated time of publication January 2016.

¹ Articles will be referred to in the dissertation according to corresponding Roman numerals.



Finnish Doctoral Programme for Music Research

1 DEFINING THE PROBLEM

1.1 STUDYING ESTONIAN JAZZ

Jazz assimilated into Estonian cultural space in the mid-1920s as a part of an invasion of American popular music and dance genres such as ragtime and early jazz into Europe. As a result, dance bands emerged throughout Europe including Estonia. The social dance scene of Estonia not only significantly stimulated the spread of popular music, but also provided musicians with the opportunity to establish new dance groups and to make a living by playing at dance parties (Lauk, 2008: 51-52). Although the core of the first Estonian jazz band, The Murphy Band, first formed in 1918, only later, in 1925, did the group begin to play regularly in Café Marcelle (ibid.: 44). The number of jazz bands grew gradually during the 1920s and 1930s, and jazz became the most important form of popular music of the period. From 1925 to 1940, as many as 110 jazz orchestras involving approximately 750 musicians played jazzy dance music (ibid.: 75). The event that confirmed the popularity of jazz in Estonia was the first jazz concert arranged on 24 November 1936 in the largest concert hall in Estonia—*Estonia kontserdisaal* (ibid.: 83). The two military occupations² forced crucial changes in the life of jazz in Estonia. Deportation and mobilisations forced the activities of many jazz groups to cease, and neither of the occupying regimes looked favourably on favoured jazz (ibid.: 79).

The essence of Estonian culture has often been described through some of the mechanisms of its genesis,³ the most popular of which have been the framework of rupture,⁴ self-colonisation⁵ and existential Estonia.⁶ The most relevant conceptual paradigm for framing Estonian jazz culture seems to be self-colonisation. This term first appeared in the writings of linguist and literary scholar Tiit Hennoste, who proposed, based on postcolonial literary theory, that Estonian culture is a ‘culture of self-colonisation’. That self-colonisation, as a voluntary adoption of the cultural models of colonialists, provides an explanation of the Americanisation of popular culture, as philosopher Tõnu Viik (2012: 7) argues. One interpretation of the appearance of jazz in Estonian cultural territory in the 1910s can therefore be in terms of self-colonisation. American cultural modernism as a symbolic

² The first Soviet occupation took place 1940-1941, and the German occupation, 1941-1944.

³ For discussions of the three cultural paradigms, see Väljataga, Märt. 2011. Katkestusekultuur, enesekolonisatsioon, eksistentsiaalne Eesti. *Looming*, 12, 1725-1734; Veidemann, Rein. 2011. Mis on Eesti kultuur? *Looming*, 8, 1130-1138; Pilv, Aare. 2011. Olemasolu-Eesti. *Looming*, 6, 843-855.

⁴ The idea of Estonian culture as a culture of rupture first appeared in Krull, Hasso. 1996. *Katkestusekultuur*. Tallinn: Vagabund.

⁵ Hennoste, Tiit. 2005. Postkolonialism ja Eesti. kirikiri.ee/article.php?id_article=201

⁶ Veidemann, Rein. 2010. *Eksistentsiaalne Eesti. Käsitlusi Eesti kirjandusest ja kultuurist 2005-2010*. Tallinn: Tänapäev.

‘coloniser’ invaded Estonian cultural space via Europe and was adopted by local voluntary ‘colonisers’ who were ready to receive Western cultural models, including jazz. Important elements in defining Estonian culture have also been national-linguistic and territorial principles: that is, whether Estonian’ is the culture created in the Estonian language or the culture created in Estonian territory.⁷ In that context, jazz as a foreign musical form qualifies under the territorial principle: a cultural form of non-Estonian origin which, nevertheless, infiltrated Estonian cultural space.

Estonian jazz and popular music history owe their chronicling to Valter Ojakäär. His wide-ranging activities as a music publicist and journalist shaped the tastes of Estonian music audiences through radio broadcasts, television programmes and journalistic writings for almost seven decades. Ojakäär’s greatest contribution to Estonian cultural history is unquestionably his four volume series of books that uncovers the historical legacy of Estonian ‘light’ or popular music from its very beginning in the first decades of the 20th century to the present day.

The years from 1944 to 1953 mark a period of large-scale transformations in Estonian culture. As a result of the Soviet occupation, the entire Estonian society experienced extensive social change during which the Soviet regime established its power basis in the country. This process, known as Sovietisation, pronounced the entire previous cultural tradition inimical and which the new regime tried to replace with an ideologically more acceptable culture, one that was ‘socialist in content, national in form’ – echoing one of the Soviet’s favourite slogans. In addition, Estonian culture faced the consequences of the ideological campaigns of late-Stalinism aiming to establish control over cultural production and to eliminate Western influence. The advent of the Soviet regime forced people of creativity and intelligence to make crucial choices. Some of them escaped from Soviet power and emigrated to the West, and those who stayed in Estonia either collaborated with the Soviet regime or tried to ‘do their own thing’ while keeping a low profile in relation to the regime. The most ‘guilty’ persons for the Soviet regime were victimised – executed or sent to Siberian camps –by Soviet terror.

⁷ See further: Eesti kultuuri süvamehhanismid. Arutlevad Kalevi Kull, Kristin Kuutma, Mihhail Lotman, Rein Raud, Marek Tamm, Peeter Torop ja Tõnu Viik. *Sirp* 24.10.2014.

1.2 PERSONAL STATEMENT

French historian Pierre Yves Saunier claims that scholars do not choose their research approach haphazardly. He finds that ‘there are all sorts of relationships between what we investigate and what we are’ (2006: 126). To expound on Saunier’s statement, we intentionally select not only the research approach and subject, but almost every aspect of the research process, which reflects our personal experiences, characteristics, and cultural background. Thus, in accordance with Saunier’s view, writing a history is about crossings and every researcher is forced ‘to consider how their own arsenal is the result of multiple crossings’ (ibid: 125).

The idea of crossings discloses several links between the researcher and the subject of research. The first connection is the educational crossing – the way the educational background of the researcher interacts with the research subject. Thus, to meet the demands that the selected subject required of me as a scholar, I should take into account that my training has shaped my knowledge. My formal education as a scholar is based on studies at the Jazz History and Research Program at the University of Rutgers and my studies of musicology at the University of Helsinki. I owe the utmost gratitude to the Finnish Doctoral Program in Musicology, which, by granting me membership (2011–2015), enabled me to participate in seminars and lectures delivered by outstanding music scholars from Finland and abroad and to benefit from a nurturing scholarly environment. My participation in international and local conferences also contributed extensively to my growth as a jazz scholar. But studying this subject forced me to extend beyond the limits defined by my training; the need for a deeper understanding of Soviet Estonian jazz compelled me to extend my professional imagination and methodological toolbox. I had to be able to conduct research in different languages (Estonian, Finnish, Russian, English), to familiarise myself with several research traditions (historical studies, studies in Estonian history, Soviet Studies), and to learn how to select the sources and methods relevant to my questions. In short, the very object of my research has forced me to push my limits into new scholarly realms. My scholarly training, however, is not the only professional type of crossing; my position as a musical insider established yet another link between my training and research.

What I refer to here as experiential crossings are the links between the research and my subjective experiences and worldviews. I will propose my Soviet era experience as the first experiential category. My memories of the Stalinist era have been mediated in that they rely on the recollections of my parents and family stories of about deportations. Those are the

stories of my grandfathers, one of whom refused to join either the German or Soviet mobilisation in 1944 and escaped to the forest to remain beyond the reach of officials. The Soviets executed my other grandfather for his political allegiance. Those are the stories of my relatives who died in Soviet forced labour camps in Siberia. This experiential crossing also includes a story about my mother, who grew up without parental care since her parents were convicted as kulaks⁸ and forbidden to join the local collective farm. They were exiled and forced to work far from home, but were lucky not to have been deported to Siberia. Their saviour was the head of the local Party's Executive Committee, who lived in their house and eliminated their files from the list of prospective deportees. My mother also recalled the day of Stalin's death, when the whistles of the trains and factories filled the air, and everyone was required to stand as a sign of grief for 'father' Stalin.

My personal memory goes back to my school years in the 1970s and 1980s. In the spirit of the Soviet cult of childhood, which sought to instill in me the promise of a socialist future, I had to demonstrate my 'loyalty' to the regime by participating in youth organisations such as the Little Octobrists, Young Pioneers and Komsomol. Although membership was officially voluntary, threats to lower the citizenship mark on my school certificate compelled me to join the Komsomol. School life was full of rituals: bearing banners and ties symbolising membership in the organisation; salutes, parades and other ceremonies or, for instance, regular hygiene check-ups of combs and handkerchiefs in everybody's pockets.

One of the peculiarities of Soviet society was the discrepancy between official ideology and real life. The Soviet everyday experience of material scarcity, black market and rampant alcohol abuse contrasted sharply with what we read in the newspapers or heard on the radio. The utopian ideas of ideological discourse were, in fact, treated as just another highly formalised ritualistic pattern of everyday Soviet life in that era. Nevertheless, Soviet life did have its positive points. What can now be considered positive were, for instance, the almost complete absence of social stratification, material security (even if income was low, it was at least guaranteed for all), and state support for art and leisure activities. The material scarcity taught the Soviet people to be creative and inventive in order to cope with the situation – what we used to call 'doing by ourselves'. The fatuous life surrounding us encouraged a certain sense of humour where nonsensical circumstances were put into a framework of absurdity, irony or farce. The high level of inventiveness and the sense of

⁸ Higher-income farmers who were characterised as exploiters in the USSR and considered the class enemies of the poorer peasants.

humour were essential features of the stories of my interviewees, as the study will show. What my Soviet experience has added to my personal arsenal of worldviews is a healthy skepticism towards authoritative and hegemonic systems that society tries to impose on its citizens, including educational doctrines and media manipulation. The independence and inventiveness in patterns of thinking encouraged me to think outside the ‘mainstream’.

My encounter with different cultures and social orders is another circumstance shaping my *weltanschauung*. My extended contact with Finnish society and a two-year stay in the US have given me personal experience of the great diversity of people living in different social environments — and how society and education shape us. The American experience, for instance, has suggested obvious parallels with Soviet society: both superpowers hold sway over their citizens with the methods that in some ways resemble each other.

The direct intersections between my worldviews and my research can be found in the application of the concept of holism. A strong personal tendency to seek the ‘bird’s-eye view’ in my research inspired me to turn to ‘cultural spaces of action’ as a holistic construction enabling me to explain the puzzles surrounding the permitted/forbidden dilemma overshadowing Soviet jazz discourse. Closely related to holism is the search for ways of overcoming binary thinking. Instead of contrasting or opposing, elements in binary pairs can be considered complementary to each other. I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to Aleksei Yurchak, whose ideas about Soviet paradoxes support the development of my own approach. His belief in the capacity of individuals to fulfil their desires is another example of transferring my personal values and worldviews to my research. The theory emphasising the role of the actor is an actor-centred model of culture proposed by American sociologist Ann Swidler.

Finally, I return to Saunier to illustrate his argument that transnational history is the most obvious approach for those ‘whose social and cultural background, personal and professional trajectories, lifestyles and activities develop “in-between” nations, continents and civilizations’ (2006: 126). It seems that this concept of ‘in-betweenness’ most appropriately characterises my personal trajectories, backgrounds and activities. Divisions in my professional career between research, pedagogy and music making, including my experiences of living in different types of societies, as well as my holistic worldview, have prevented my full identification with a particular professional community, society geographical territory, or belief group. This meta-level ‘in-betweenness’ is an important characteristic of my current

research, which seeks to challenge the concept of the national, and my reliance on a number of research traditions.

While the multiple crossings discussed are underlying reasons for my professional or methodological selections, my focus on this particular historical period stems mainly from my discovery of the Swing Club almanac. This unique document, written by Estonian jazz musicians between 1947 and 1950, inspired me to explore further this paradoxical period and to search for answers to intriguing questions about the nature of jazz in late-Stalinist Estonia.

1.3 RESEARCH SUBJECT, QUESTIONS AND ARGUMENTS

The research subject is encompassed by three words, each of which defines a different aspect of the subject at hand. The phrase JAZZ in SOVIET ESTONIA and the three separate terms it includes open the way to a number of concepts which frame my investigation.

Jazz, as a central concern of the study, signifies here, first of all, the American-born cultural phenomenon that emerged as a part of cultural modernism at the beginning of the 20th century and which *élan vital* spread globally immediately after its inception. My point of interest is also jazz as an academic subject: jazz studies as a disciplinary field that explores jazz from scholarly perspectives (SI; 2.1.1). Although, jazz as a purely musical phenomenon remains largely outside the focus of the study,⁹ I nevertheless discuss some aesthetic aspects of the music as it emerges in the writings of the Swing Club's almanac (SIV).

While jazz is the central subject of the study, the terms Estonia and Soviet indicate the location of the subject matter. 'Soviet' refers first of all to the social formation and to the historical period in its particularities (SII; 2.2), which established the prerequisite conditions and socio-political environment in which the jazz culture grew. 'Estonia', in turn, alludes to the specific geographical/cultural location of the research subject (i.e., the cultural space in which jazz is located and functions, and in which cultural actors act).

The central question of the study emerges around the meaning of jazz in late-Stalinist Estonia. The main and most general question of the study can therefore be formulated as follows:

⁹ I refer here to the analysis of musical parameters.

- **How to articulate the meaning of jazz in Soviet Estonia of late-Stalinist era?**

I offer three sub-questions that explore more deeply the interaction of the Soviet cultural model and jazz, the role of musical actors and the acquisition of knowledge:

- **How does Estonian jazz fit into the Soviet cultural model?**
- **What are the strategies of action of musical actors in shaping the jazz culture?**
- **What are the conceptual tools for the investigation of jazz history in Estonia of the late-Stalinist era?**

In addition, each individual article poses its own questions specific to its subject and particular perspectives (for an overview of the articles, see Section 1.4 and Chapter 4).

Study I: How has jazz as the subject of academic research been constructed and debated over the past 25 years? What are the most important stages in the development of the discipline? How does one locate studies on non-American jazz in the context of the US-centred study of jazz? How do we describe the state of jazz research in the Finnish context?

Study II: What was the role of communist ideology in the cultural life of the Soviet Union in general and in jazz culture in particular? How did this ideology interact with Soviet cultural paradigms in the construction of the discourse of jazz in Soviet Estonia? How can we interpret in an ideological context the famous saying of Valter Ojakäär that jazz was not allowed in Soviet Union, but neither was it forbidden? Or we can ask metaphorically: How did the articulations of ideology tune the voice of jazz?

Study III: How was jazz constructed in public discourse – particularly in the cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* – during the late-Stalinist era in Soviet Estonia? How did the late-Stalinist ideological campaigns influence the disruption of jazz? What are the implications of rupture on the entire Estonian jazz culture?

Study IV: How did cultural agents, that is Estonian jazz musicians, discuss jazz in the creative space provided by the subversive historical moment in 1948? How did musicians conduct the everyday practicalities of jazz, and what was their aesthetic platform in evaluating jazz? Which strategies did musicians employ their goal of musical self-actualisation?

Study V: How do we approach Soviet Estonian jazz culture so as to achieve the most comprehensive overview of the phenomenon? How do we overcome the simplistic binary model of thinking about Soviet jazz culture? How can Soviet Estonian jazz culture mediate the paradoxical nature of Soviet society? How to articulate the paradigm of totalitarianism in the context of Estonian jazz of the late-Stalinist era? How did musical actors act in the available socio-cultural context and what were their strategies? What were the meanings emerging from the four case studies presented? What are the implications of the study for the formation of a holistic view of Soviet Estonian jazz of the late-Stalinist era?

The preliminary arguments in responding to these questions are (1) that the meaning of Estonian jazz culture emerges from interaction between a Sovietised socio-political environment, traditions of jazz culture and actions of the musicians; (2) that a holistic perspective, taking into account all the cultural spaces in which jazz exists, is necessary to understand the meaning of jazz in Soviet society; (3) that jazz demonstrates a high level of flexibility in fitting into the Soviet cultural model and both preserves and reshapes the established system of meanings of jazz culture; (4) that the focus on cultural actors and their strategies for selecting from the ‘cultural repertoire’ shows that musicians’ main motivator was their desire for musical self-actualisation; (5) that the discussion of Soviet Estonian jazz culture will benefit from both a well-developed theoretical/conceptual framework and empirical research; (6) that the main conceptual tools derive from disciplines such as New Cultural History, Soviet studies, jazz studies, Estonian history studies and transnational history. These disciplines ask questions about the meaning of and focus on cultural actors, explore beyond binary oppositions, identify jazz as a transnational phenomenon and decentralise the idea of the national.

1.4 ARTICLES

The first article, **Jazz Research and the Moments of Change**, is perhaps the most distant from the specific research focus, yet it functions as a useful introduction by, locating the study in the context of jazz studies. At the same time, the article can be considered a part of my personal statement. I identify myself primarily as a jazz scholar conducting research on local jazz history. Furthermore, the article fortifies my argument about the transnational approach, which links different scholarly traditions. Jazz research is one scholarly tradition that is developing new connections and insights into the interpretations of the research subject.

The initial idea of discussing jazz research as a scholarly discipline at a meta-level emerged years ago. During my studies at Rutgers University in 2004, I attended John Howland's excellent series of lectures on jazz historiography. Though I was relatively unfamiliar with jazz research as an academic subject at that time, I struggled with many complicated and – for me – alien issues related to American jazz. The impression that experience left me – that jazz and jazz research exists only in America – led me to several intriguing questions, including: Where do we place jazz and jazz research that goes beyond American borders? How do we write jazz history in the national contexts? How shall I define my identity as a jazz researcher in this context?

Almost ten years later, when I wrote this article, jazz research had undergone extensive changes and is now open to all geographies and a wide variety of viewpoints. The questions I ask now concern the stages in the development of the discipline and the mode of writing jazz history in a national context.

Ideology and the cultural study of Soviet Estonian jazz was written as a contribution to Janne Mäkelä's edited collection, based on my presentation to the 9th Nordic Jazz Conference, Helsinki 2010. This was my first attempt to discuss Soviet socio-political issues and their relevance to the interpretation of Soviet Estonian jazz. Primarily because my research was still in its early stages, the article could now be considered as deficient in some matters. First is the omission of two important themes: cultural administration and censorship. Although this research discusses subjects such as the particularities of Estonian culture, the 'red' ideology and its relation to jazz, jazz and popular culture and Socialist Realism, my subsequent research has disclosed that cultural administration and censorship are important in further understanding the cultural mechanisms in the USSR. One could also critique the small number of sources and my uncritical approach to them, as well as the lack of emphasis on the analysis of interaction between the Soviet cultural model and jazz. However, developing research always uncovers new insights, and the lengthy discussion of cultural issues in Section 2.3.2 compensates for these omissions.

The archival research conducted for **Late-Stalinist ideological campaigns and the rupture of jazz: 'jazz-talk' in the Soviet Estonian cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar*** was my first exploration of historical sources. The development of the article based on those materials was a long process, from its first presentation at the conference of the Centre of Excellence in Cultural Theory in Estonia in October 2012, to its final publication in *Popular Music* in August 2014. The main focus of the study was to outline the temporary erasure of

jazz, which I referred to as a rupture, from the public press as represented by the cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar*.

The first version of the article **Swing Club and the meaning of jazz in late 1940s Estonia** was published in *Jazz Research Journal* in 2011. This special issue, called ‘Other Jazz’, was based on the presentations of the Jazz and Race conference held at The Open University, Milton Keynes in November 2010. The rewriting of the article for Rüdiger Ritter’s collection in 2014 included the addition of a theoretical framework and the reconceptualisation of the meaning of the Swing Club almanac. Based on the writings of the Swing Club almanac, the study focuses on how Estonian jazz lovers discussed jazz in the repressive years of the late 1940s and what jazz meant to them.

The final article, **Four spaces four meanings: Narrating jazz of late-Stalinist Estonia**, summarises my scholarly activity in the field. Written for Bruce Johnson’s book on jazz in totalitarian societies, it offers a framework for discussing jazz as a cultural phenomenon in Soviet Estonia. However, I question the application of the term totalitarianism to Estonian society and propose, instead, the more dynamic notion of totalising.

The article opens with Ojakäär’s paradoxical statement that ‘jazz was not allowed in the Soviet Union, but it was never forbidden either.’ This proposition creates a symbolic arc to my second article, which reflects on this assertion. Nevertheless, because my methodological ‘toolbox’ and general knowledge of the Soviet era and Estonian jazz were still under development, the question remained unanswered at that time.

In response to the need for a holistic approach to jazz, I develop a model of ‘cultural spaces of action’. As an extension of the public/private divide, this model distinguishes four spaces where jazz culture acts: public media, public musical, informal public and private spheres.

2 THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

The first part of the theoretical discussions will focus on the trajectories of development of three related scholarly fields: studies of Estonian history, Soviet studies and studies of jazz. Section 2.2 conceptualises the period 1944-1953, which marks the second significant social change in the 20th century Estonian history along with the gaining of Estonian independence in 1918. With the Soviet military occupation of Estonian territory in 1940,¹⁰ the country entered the Soviet era, which lasted until 1991. This period under investigation in my study will be conceptualised in four different ways: as totalitarianism (2.2.1), late-Stalinism (2.2.2), Sovietisation (2.2.3) and the Cold War (2.2.4). None of the terms serves as an analytical tool in the study, but simply to define the historical context. Section 2.3 extensively presents issues of culture across two broad sections. The first (2.3.1) introduces the theoretical approach to culture taken in the present study as well as my own theoretical approach to modelling Soviet jazz culture, which I refer to as ‘cultural spaces of action’. Section 2.3.2 discusses more specific mechanisms in the functioning of Soviet culture and the way jazz interacted with the cultural issues, including ideology, cultural administration, Socialist Realism, censorship, issues regarding popular culture and the distinctive features of Soviet Estonian culture.

2.1 HISTORIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

2.1.1 Studies on Estonian history

My point of departure here is the construction of the narratives of Estonian history - what have been and could be the perspectives in conceptualising Estonia’s past?

Estonian historian Marek Tamm (2009) has pointed out that the main tendencies in the writing of Estonia’s past have been legitimisation and identity formation.¹¹ The ideological agenda behind the new national history project starting with Estonian independence in 1991,

¹⁰ The military occupation of Estonia by the Soviet army and incorporation of the country into the USSR took place on 14 June 1940 under the auspices of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. Nazi Germany occupied Estonia from June 1941 until 1944.

¹¹ According to his brief and somewhat simplified summary, the Baltic-Germans (ethnically German inhabitants in the territories of current Estonia and Latvia) sought reasons for the privileges they enjoyed in the past. The leaders of the Estonian Age of Awakening (*Ärkamisaeg* is considered to have begun in the 1850s with the granting of greater rights to commoners, and to have ended with the declaration of the Republic of Estonia in 1918) turned to the past in their search for a better future; the professional historians in the period of independence (Estonia’s first period of independence, which lasted only 22 years, began in 1918 and ended in 1940 with the Soviet occupation of Estonia) were constructing the prehistory of the state. During the Soviet era (1940-1991), official history writing reconstructed the past according to given schemes, and during the years of restoration of Estonian independence, the/this/Estonian history has sought to reconstruct the nation state and to uphold the idea of nationhood (Tamm, 2009: 61).

announced the restoration of pre-war models of historical writing and emphasised the Estonians' ownership on their own history (ibid.: 56; Kreegipuu, 2007: 46). I agree here with Ukrainian historian Georgiy Kasianov (2009: 8) who refers to this mode of historiography as 'nationalised history', where the understanding of the past requires the separation of "one's own" history from the earlier "common history", and where history is presented as a struggle of a nation for survival and its contest with internal and external enemies' (ibid.: 20). One of the linguistic practices of the classical canon of nationalising history is 'lacrimogenesis.'¹²

In recent debates on Estonian historiography, however, the 'nationalised history' project has been questioned and the call for new approaches initiated. Tamm (2009) poses the question about the ownership of Estonian history. He suggests, in agreement with Natalie Zemon Davis for whom the history 'is a gift we must work to receive, but it cannot be owned',¹³ that Estonian history writing needs less the sense of ownership and more playfulness in its construction. The battles over ownership have even gone so far as attempting to exclude foreign scholars altogether, arguing that only those who have experienced Soviet totalitarianism can comprehend the past (Pettai, 2011: 271; Annuk, 2003: 19). The problems of Estonian historiography include an absence of debate and lack of ambition,¹⁴ a 'heritage' approach¹⁵ to the past (Tamm, 2009: 64); a focus on political history, state systems, deportations, oppressions, murder and torture (Pettai, 2011: 273; Olesk & Saluvere, 2011: 7) and too little attention paid to everyday life of ordinary people.¹⁶

The symbolic breakthrough of the non-Estonian approach, which can be described as the globalisation of the Estonian history project, was marked by monographs written by non-Estonian historians Seppo Zetterberg¹⁷ and Jean-Pierre Minaudier¹⁸. Also the publication of the second volume of Estonian history *Eestiajalugu II*, in 2012, signalled a remarkable discursive shift, a new strategy in Estonian historiography - the attempt to go beyond the established national historiographical paradigms.

¹²This term was used by the American historian Mark von Hagen to characterize a tendency in Ukrainian historiography of the 1990s associated with elements of incessant 'mournful lamentation' over the losses and sufferings of Ukrainians since time immemorial. Kasianov argues that the myth of the great suffering is, however, common to almost all historiographies of the period of 'national revival' not only in Europe but throughout the world (Kasianov, 2010).

¹³Originally published in Zemon, Davis N. 1999. Who Owns History? In *Historical Perspectives on Memory*, ed Anne Ollila, 19-34. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura.

¹⁴Kaljundi, Linda. Ambitsiooni võiks rohkem olla. *Sirp* 08.06.2007

¹⁵Historian David Lowenthal (1998) distinguishes between history and heritage: while the goal of history writing is to understand the past, heritage is a celebration of the past and its continuity.

¹⁶The latter is, however, extensively investigated by Estonian folklorists and ethnologists. See for instance Jõesalu, Kristi & Kõresaar, Ene. 2011. Privaatne ja avalik nõukogude aja mõistmises ühe keskastme juhi eluloo näitel. *Methis*, 2, 67-83.

¹⁷Zetterberg, Seppo. 2009. *Eesti ajalugu*. Tallinn: Tänapäev.

¹⁸Minaudier, Jean-Paul. 2007. *Histoire de l'Estonie et de la nation estonienne*. ADÉFO: L'Harmattan.

This historical overview of the developments of Estonian historiography contextualises my project, reflecting recent calls for new approaches in Estonian history-writing, seeking to transcend the paradigms of ‘nationalised history’. A transnational perspective provides a broader scholarly context which facilitates the crossing of national borders and increases its relevance to a non-Estonian readership. The focus on cultural history and everyday-life of the musicians challenges the dominance of the perspective ‘from above’ in Estonian Soviet era historiography. Regarding the controversy over the origins of scholars working on Estonian history - whether they are Estonians or non-Estonians - it is more productive to make a distinction between scholars according to their scholarly intentions and methodological tools than their national origin. As a native Estonian studying abroad I am able to distance myself from ‘nationalised history’ and lacrimogenesis. At the same time my ‘Estonianness’ can keep me from falling into alienated perspectives, and interpretations that are too detached and sweeping.

The historians whose works are the most relevant to the present study are Tõnu Tannberg (2007) and Olaf Mertelsmann (2012).¹⁹ Tannberg’s collection provides a comparative perspective on the processes of Sovietisation in Estonia, Eastern Europe and other Baltic states. Mertelsmann’s volume parallels my approach of deploying a plurality of sources and focussing on everyday life during Stalinism in Estonia.

2.1.2 Soviet studies

The school of Soviet studies most relevant to the present study is the so-called third school²⁰ in Soviet studies: ‘post-revisionism’, emerging in the 1990s as a synthesis transcending the revisionist–totalitarian polemic. This new generation of scholars reconciled the histories from above and from below by concentrating on both - everyday politics and ideology. The main achievement of the post-revisionists was the shift of focus from social to cultural history (Fitzpatrick, 2007). Stephen Kotkin (1995), the leading figure of the new school, successfully overcomes the state/society distinction with the application of De Certeau’s distinction between ‘the grand strategies of the state’ and the ‘little tactics of the habitat’. However, Kotkin’s view is limited: he sees his actors as completely boxed in by state power and its

¹⁹ On Stalinism in Estonia see also Karjahärm, Toomas & Luts, Helle-Mai. 2005. *Kultuurigenotsiid Eestis: kunstnikud ja muusikud 1940–1953*. Tallinn: Argo; Veskimägi, Kaljo-Olev. 2005. *Kuidas valitseti Eesti NSV-d*. Tallinn: Varrak; Kuuli, Olaf. 2007. *Stalini aja võimukaader ja kultuurijuhid Eesti NSV-s (1940–1954)*. Tallinn: Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda. On the investigation of Soviet era is also special issue of *Methis* 7 (Spring 2011).

²⁰The first phase in the 1950s and 1960s experienced the dominance of the totalitarian paradigm, which was replaced by a new group of scholars referred to as revisionists in the 1970s and 1980s.

strategies (Edele, 2007: 368). The theoretical model of historian Mark Edele, which I will follow, argues instead for the ‘inter-penetration’ between different aspects of the social whole (2007: 369). From Timothy Johnston’s (2011) system of ‘tactics’ I will use his term ‘get-by’ (SIV, SV) which I refer to as a strategy of action of the musicians in fulfilling their musical goals.

The author who has had a major impact on my ideas is Russian-born, US-trained anthropologist Aleksei Yurchak. His critique of binary categories (2.3.2) and discussions of Soviet paradoxes has inspired me to avoid simplistic binaries in my arguments, and to propose the paradox of Soviet jazz, paraphrased in Valter Ojakäär’s statement that ‘jazz was not allowed in the Soviet Union but it was never forbidden either’ (SV). The application of my model of four ‘cultural spaces of action’ untangles this paradox and leads me to conclude that ‘jazz was neither allowed nor forbidden in the Soviet Union - but it was never silent’.

The academic literature on music on Stalinist era is very limited. Meri Herrala’s (2012) conclusion, that a total centralisation of Soviet music control was never achieved (ibid: 391), resonates with my own findings about the inability of the Soviet regime to extinguish jazz. Kirill Tomoff’s (2006) argument serves as a point of reference in discussions of the Stalinists’ ideological campaigns and their impact on music (2.2.2).

2.1.3 Studies on jazz

The way jazz studies as an academic field has developed and been debated over the last 25 years is discussed in detail in my article ‘Jazz Research and the Moments of Change’ (see SI, 5.1). In this chapter I focus on discussing jazz-as-a-tradition paradigm.

The author who has extensively shaped our current understanding of jazz discourse is Scott DeVeaux. In his seminal ‘Constructing the jazz tradition’ essay DeVeaux discusses what I call a jazz-as-a-tradition paradigm by referring to it as ‘the relatively recent construction of an overarching narrative that has crowded out other possible interpretations of the complicated and variegated cultural phenomena that we cluster under the umbrella ‘jazz’ (1991: 489). The musics under the jazz umbrella are, as the author points out, in an organic relationship, ‘as branches of a tree to the trunk’ (ibid.). Most important for him are the boundaries historians, critics, and musicians have consistently drawn around jazz (ibid.: 487). The two core aspects of American jazz discourse have been ethnicity and economics - the first defining music as strongly identified with African-American culture, and another indicating the relationship of jazz to capitalism (ibid.: 489). The contemporary conceptions of the term

jazz have been shaped in bebop, which elevated the jazz to the status of an *art music* (ibid.: 495). In another article 'Core and Boundaries' (2005) DeVeaux defines the traditionally understood boundaries of jazz through four dichotomies: race (jazz is black, it's not white); gender (jazz is male, not female); class (jazz is an art music, it is not a pop or folk music); nationality (jazz is American, it's not European or African).

For the analysis of Estonian jazz the application of jazz-as-a-tradition paradigm provides opportunities for transnational comparisons. As the study shows, the issue on race appeared in ideologised public space as a part of anti-jazz rhetoric. The black origin of jazz and its origin in American capitalist society was the source of contradictory attitudes toward the music. Nevertheless, more relevant than the white/black paradigm is the bourgeois/proletarian dilemma since 'black policy' was implicated in the class struggle in USSR. The position of jazz in the high-low musical division is discussed by Heldur Karmo who tries to 'classicise' swing, fitting it to Soviet musical paradigms, elevating the music to the status of high art. Somewhat radical was Estonians' attitude to bebop. Because of the great respect the musicians accorded to swing, bebop was seen as an opposing style representing values inappropriate to the Estonians' aesthetic platform. Interestingly, unlike in American jazz discourse where bebop was described as innovative and progressive, the discussions in the almanac of Swing Club portrayed bebop as a representative of degenerate capitalist values.

Jazz studies beyond American borders is definitely not a monolithic field but consists of several territories based on certain common denominators such as a local nation state, linguistic space, geographical territory or social formation. For example, research on British jazz²¹ is well developed with extensive historiographical and professional networks. Although national jazz histories tend not to reach international readership because of language barriers, several works on national jazz scenes are available currently in English.²² An early theorisation of diasporic jazz in general was Bruce Johnson's 2002 essay 'The Jazz Diaspora'.²³ In the German speaking world there is a long scholarly tradition of jazz studies.²⁴

²¹ See for instance monographs by Tackley, Catherine. 2005. *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880–1935*. London: Ashgate or McKay, George. 2005. *Circular Breathing: The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain*. Durham: Duke University Press.

²² See for instance Jordan, Matthew F. 2010. *Le Jazz: Jazz and French Cultural Identity*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press; Johnson, Bruce. 1987. *The Oxford Companion to Australian Jazz*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press; Nettelbeck, Colin. 2004. *Dancing with De Beauvoir: Jazz and the French*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; Atkins, Taylor E. 2000. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press. Recent studies on European jazz include the collection of articles Cerchiari, Luca, Cugny, Laurent & Kerschbaumer, Franz. 2012. *Eurojazzland: jazz and European Sources, Dynamics and Contexts*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

²³ Johnson, Bruce. 2002. The Jazz Diaspora. In *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz*, eds. Mervyn Cooke and David Horn, 33–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁴ Knauer, Wolfram. 1992. *Jazz und Komposition*. Hofheim: Darmstädter Beiträge zur Jazzforschung.

A research field framed by a particular social formation is the body of studies on jazz in the former Eastern bloc. This area of jazz studies is relatively undeveloped, defined primarily by one collection of articles and conference panels. The first attempt to gather together the scholars interested in jazz in former socialist societies was the Warsaw conference ‘Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain’ in 2008.²⁵

Written in the native language, Estonian jazz historiography has been seeking its symbolic place and identity primarily in national territory.²⁶ As a predominantly non-professionalised discourse, qualifying as a history of heritage, its main contribution has been the collection and preservation of data. The man whose efforts created the discourse of Estonian jazz history is Valter Ojakäär. His four volume series (2000; 2003; 2008; 2010) based on the memories of the author and his personal contacts with the musicians, is the most important document of Estonian jazz history. The focus of the author is on historical data about musical collectives and participants in the jazz scene. Because of its precise detail and abundant descriptions of musicians’ everyday lives, Ojakäär’s series is an invaluable source for those such as myself, investigating the history from scholarly perspective. The only dissertation on Estonian jazz is Tiit Lauk’s *Jazz in Estonia in 1918-1945* (2008) the aim of which is to investigate how jazz reached Estonian cultural space.

As a scholarly subject Soviet jazz has unfortunately attracted relatively little interest, with few recent scholarly publications. The only extensive monograph on jazz in the Soviet Union available to an English-speaking readership is still *Red & Hot: The Fate of Jazz in Soviet Union* of Frederick S. Starr (1983). The first monograph on jazz in the Soviet Union was Aleksei Batachev’s *Sovetskii dzhaz*²⁷ published in 1972. An important figure in popularising jazz in USSR/Russia is Vladimir Feiertag.²⁸ Other authors in the field include Medvedjev,²⁹ Gaut,³⁰ Novikova,³¹ Lücke,³² Minor,³³ Feigin,³⁴ Beličenko,³⁵ Konen.³⁶

²⁵Based on the presentations of the conference the organisers published the collection of articles: Pickhan, Gerthrud & Ritter, Rüdiger. 2010. *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

²⁶The two articles on Estonian jazz available to wider readership are Ojakäär, Walter. 1993. Jazz in Estland. Hoffnungen und Wirklichkeit. In Wolfram Knauer *Jazz in Europa*, 95-105. Hofheim: Taunus; Lauk, Tiit. 2010. Estonian Jazz Before and Behind the ‘Iron Curtain’. In *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain*, eds. Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter, 35-56. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

²⁷Batachev, Aleksei. 1972. *Sovetskij dzhaz*. Moskva: Muzyka. Aleksei Batachev (b. 1934) is a Russian jazz critic, historian and populariser of jazz.

²⁸Vladimir Feiertag (b. 1934) is a Soviet and Russian musician and jazz specialist. He began to present public lectures about jazz in 1960s and was the first Soviet musicologist to have been awarded the status of lecturer-musicologist specialising in ‘Jazz’. He was an organiser of the first jazz Philharmonic season in the country and was for many years an Artistic Director and leader of the first Leningrad Jazz Festival ‘Autumn Rhythms’. Besides the monographs and numerous articles he is the author the first comprehensive guide to Russian jazz articles: Feiertag, Vladimir. 2009. *Dzhaz v Rossii: kratkii entsiklopedicheski spravochnik*. Saint Petersburg, Russia: Skifia. His other publications include Feiertag, Vladimir. 1999. *Dzhaz ot Leningrada do Peterburga*. St Petersburg: Kult Inform Press; Feiertag, Vladimir. 2010. *Istoria dzhazovova ispolnitelstva v Rossii*. St Petersburg: Skifija.

²⁹Medvedjev, Aleksei & Medvedjeva, Olga. 1987. *Dzhaz: problemy, sobytii, mastera*. Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor.

³⁰Gaut, Greg. 1991. Soviet jazz: transforming American music. In *Jazz in Mind: Essays on the History and Meaning of*

2.2 CONCEPTUALIZING THE PERIOD FROM 1944-1953: TOTALITARIANISM, LATE STALINISM, SOVIETIZATION, COLD WAR.

2.2.1 Totalitarianism

In the academic context the concept of totalitarianism has been deployed in two ways: as an analytical paradigm and as a term characterising a historical period. For those criticising the application of the totalitarian paradigm the main objection is that the communist system provides the kind of totalitarian regime that is difficult to explain in light of the classical theories of Friedrich and Arendt (Siegel, 1998; Corner, 2009). Soviet power has never achieved its totalitarian goals: the politicisation of the society, the subordination of the citizens to total control or the formation of a uniformly thinking and state-loyal Soviet nation (Fitzpatrick, 2000; Keep, 2005; Hobsbawm 1996). The totalism of Soviet society is disclosed primarily in the mechanisms of governance and the systems of propaganda but not in the real actualisation of the Soviet project on the entire society.

The period in Soviet history obviously most amenable to analysis through the classical models of totalitarianism is Stalinism. One model of Stalinism is provided by David Hoffmann (2001: 2) who lists among the features of the era the abolition of private property and free trade; the collectivisation of agriculture; a planned state-run economy and rapid industrialisation; the wholesale liquidation of so called exploiting classes, involving massive deportations and incarcerations; large-scale political terror against alleged enemies, including those within the Communist Party itself; a cult of personality deifying Stalin; and Stalin's virtually unlimited dictatorship over the country.

In Estonian Soviet-era scholarship Eve Annuk (2003: 17) favours the dynamic approach to totalitarianism and suggests that totalitarianism could be no more than a generic or contextual term for deciphering the Soviet era, since it is deficient in illuminating fully the particularities of this contradictory historical period. Tiiu Kreegipuu (2011: 19), in turn, looks

Jazz, eds. Reginald T. Bruckner & Steven Weiland, 60–82. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

³¹Novikova, Irina. 2003. Black music, white freedom: Times and spaces of jazz countercultures in the USSR. In *Blackening Europe: The African American Presence*, ed. H. Raphael-Hernandez, 73–84. New York: Routledge.

³²Lücke, Martin. 2004. Jazz im Totalitarismus: eine komparative Analyse des politisch motivierten Umgangs mit dem Jazz während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Stalinismus. Münster: LIT Verlag.; Lücke, Martin. 2010. The postwar campaign against jazz in the USSR 1945–1953. In *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain*, eds. Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter, 83–98. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

³³Minor, William. 1995. *Unzipped Souls: A Jazz Journey Through the Soviet Union*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

³⁴Feigin, Leonard. 1985. *Russian Jazz: New Identity*. New York: Quartet Books.

³⁵Belichenko, Sergei. 2006. Otechestvennyj dzhaz kak institut kultury, *Observatoriâ kultury*, 3, 47–53.

³⁶Konen, Vera. 1977. *Puti amerikanskoi muzyki*. Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor.

at Soviet society as a totalitarian project while explaining the ‘ambivalent’ role of the Soviet press in Estonia.

In my study I apply the term ‘totalitarianism’ in the second sense--that is for the purpose of characterising the historical period under investigation (SV). But the term totalitarianism is modified according to the nature of the era in Soviet Estonia. Since the period from 1944 to 1953 in Estonian history was one during which the society moved gradually from what was referred to as a liberal post-Estonian era to the final establishment of Soviet power in 1953, I propose a more dynamic notion of totalitarianisation expressing the processual aspect of the phenomenon instead of a static noun-based term totalitarianism. As the case of Estonian jazz demonstrates, Soviet power did not achieve its goal of silencing jazz, and the music did not disappear from the private realms in Estonian cultural space.

2.2.2 Late-Stalinism

Late Stalinism, neatly framed by the Soviet victory in WWII on 9 May 1945, and the day of Stalin’s death on 5 March 1953, is a contradictory and controversial period. The features of late-Stalinism most relevant to this study are according to Julianne Fürst’s (2006: 5-15) terminology ‘obsession with control’ and ‘a society of individuals’. As demonstrated in the SIII, the ideological campaigns conducted from 1946-1949 had direct impact on how the state of jazz changed and how its meaning was constructed in the public media. Although the concept of control from above is a powerful paradigm in approaching the late-Stalinist era, the musical individuals created their own world of jazz and acted in it in ways not always in accordance with the official norms and rules imposed from above. While article SIII focuses mainly on public discourse and articulates the linkage of journalistic discourse and ideological attacks, SIV describes the activities of the musicians’ in the conditions of the Great Friendship campaign. SV, in turn, provides a broader perspective on how the tightening ideological climate affected different spaces of the Soviet Estonian jazz world and the extent of the affect.

Late-Stalinism in particular is known as a time of intensifying ideological pressure. In order to bring all cultural life into the parameters of ideology, the doctrine called Zhdanovshchina was launched in 1946. Named after the secretary of the Central Committee Andrei Zhdanov,³⁷ the doctrine became Soviet cultural policy - the prescriptions for artists,

³⁷ Zhdanov appears to have had very few ideas of his own (Gorlizki & Khlevniuk, 2005: 31). Virtually his every move in these areas was orchestrated by Stalin. Zhdanov was appointed to lead the Central Committee and Agitation Administration on April 13, 1946. In his sphere of responsibility were the fields of propaganda and agitation, the press, publishing, film, radio, the Soviet news agency, art and the supervision of the foreign policy department (Herrala, 2012: 150).

writers and intelligentsia in their creative production. The main principles of Zhdanov's doctrine were the division of the world into two antagonistic camps, imperialistic and democratic, and the requirement for excellence in artistic output, summarised in the phrase 'The only conflict that is possible in Soviet culture is the conflict between good and best' (Taruskin, 2010: 12).

The main instruments of Zhdanovshchina were rapid successions of progressively intensifying ideological campaigns. Johnston (2011: 178-9) proposes three reasons for launching the campaigns: the Party's attempt to regain control over society, competition between politicians in Kremlin and the changing global situation. The most important of these from the perspective of the present study is the final one - the growing confrontation between the West and the socialist world. During the war Britain and America had represented progressive and democratic values in the first place, and capitalist states in the second; but since late 1946 the societies of the capitalist West and America in particular, became targets of strident attacks from the Soviet propaganda machine (ibid.: 169). As a result the entire artistic production of Western origin - jazz, American films, and Western science that had been allowed since 1941 - was declared to be incompatible with the ideology of the Party's new line, and American civilization was criticised for its 'economic and racial exploitations, sham democracy, soullessness, and lack of freedom' (ibid.: 168). In order to make the artistic and scientific products of the Western civilization inaccessible for Soviet people, contacts between citizens of the USSR and their former wartime allies during anti-Western campaigns were severed (ibid.).

This paradigm shift in ideology had obvious consequences for the state of jazz in the USSR. The great War-time enthusiasm for jazz, during which large numbers of jazz bands sprang up and the music was practised in both frontline and civilian areas, was deadened step by step in the course of the ideological struggle against the capitalist system. The three Stalinist campaigns which directly or indirectly affected the position of jazz music were the assault against two literary magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* in 1946, the decision taken about Vano Muradeli's opera *Great Friendship* in 1948 and, finally, the campaign against cosmopolitanism in 1949. In Estonia jazz was freely practised until 1946 (SIII). But in the course of three Stalinist campaigns the music gradually disappeared from the public spaces as a result of the more repressive political climate.

The first in the series of post-war anti-formalist campaigns³⁸ was the resolution taken regarding the Leningrad literary journal *Zvezda* (star) and *Leningrad*, on August 14, 1946. The attack targeted Anna Akhmatova and Mikhail Zoshchenko whose ‘decadent’ and ‘vulgar’ parodies of Soviet life challenged the dogmas of socialist realism. The Zhdanov decree on literature was followed by similar announcements on the other arts, and sciences: shortly after the *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* campaign the theatres and cinemas were attacked; in June of the next year attention turned to philosophy (Ward, 1999: 241; Herrala, 2012: 150). Although neither of the attacks was directed specifically against music³⁹ these campaigns, however did not leave jazz as an example of Western culture unaffected. In the public discourse of Estonian jazz, for instance, the writings on jazz were ideologised - jazz was criticised as formalist and it was advised that American influenced styles be replaced with more suitable Sovietised examples.

The first extensive campaign organised specifically against music was the resolution on Vano Muradeli’s opera *The Great Friendship*. On February 10, 1948 Moscow’s Politburo proclaimed a directive which according to Herrala (2012: 162) initiated the fiercest campaign regarding Soviet musical life not only during the Stalinist period but also in the entire history of Soviet music. This campaign was one of the few events in the history of Soviet music to have attracted general attention: it has a firmly established place in Soviet musical narratives, whatever the scholarly perspective (Tomoff, 2006: 122). While by the general consensus *The Great Friendship* campaign was just an extension of the resolutions of 1946, Tomoff (ibid.: 122-151) applying a revisionist perspective, approaches the event from a much broader perspective. He argues that the attack was not just an outcome of the post-war political tightening in the cultural sphere, but rather an intervention initiated somewhat unexpectedly from the criticism of a single and unsuccessful opera. The cornerstone of the attack’s vocabulary during the campaigns until 1949 became formalism - a term associated in the context of Stalinism with complex modern techniques and forms accessible only to the elite, rather than being understandable for the masses (2.3.1). As I show in the article SIII the most conspicuous result of the Great Friendship campaign was the erasure of the word ‘jazz’ from public use by renaming jazz orchestras as *estrada*-orchestras. This campaign finally led to dance reform which banned the foxtrot and other modern dances, eradicated the word ‘jazz’ from public discourse and enforced anti-jazz orchestra reform.

³⁸In following section I will provide an overview of the Zhdanovschina and three late-Stalinist campaigns, coverage of which has remained sketchy because of the limitations of article format (SIII).

³⁹As mentioned by Tomoff (2006: 98), music was mentioned for the first time in the campaign against film, criticizing the scores by the composer N.V. Bogoslovskii.

The third series of Stalinist campaigns of the late 1940s was initiated in January 1949 by an unsigned *Pravda* editorial titled ‘On a Group of Antipatriotic Theatre Critics’. The campaign, bearing the ideological motto ‘struggle against cosmopolitanism’, has somehow remained overshadowed by the massive ‘Great Friendship’ assault and received relatively less attention in scholarly works. But this anti-cosmopolitan crusade signalled an important shift in the ‘attack discourse’ on culture: formalism as a favourite term for describing inappropriate cultural products during the ‘Great Friendship’ was now replaced with the notion of anti-cosmopolitanism (Tomoff, 2006: 154). Comparing formalism and anti-cosmopolitanism Tomoff concludes that, ‘whereas formalism was dangerous because of its inherent dependence on Western modes of artistic experimentation, cosmopolitanism actually praised unhealthy foreign influence. The danger of cosmopolitanism was precisely that it was antipatriotic and glorified the West (ibid.: 152)’.

2.2.3 Sovietisation

Sovietisation⁴⁰ was initially a Soviet term meaning the imposing of Soviet models of rule and organisation on an entire country, including Russia itself. Later, the term Sovietisation was applied not only to politics, but to all areas of Soviet life, and was extended to encompass the entire Eastern bloc. But the level and methods of Sovietisation differed significantly in the regions and the countries affected. The process did not follow a single model since the regions involved had different economic, cultural, religious and educational backgrounds, requiring more individualized approaches.

The Sovietisation process started in Estonia in the summer of 1940 and was followed immediately by the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union on July 21st. The weakening of authoritarian presidential rule on the one hand, and the German-Soviet non-aggression pact dividing Eastern Europe into two dictatorial regimes of Germany and USSR on the other, paved the way for Stalin to occupy the new territories including Estonia and the other Baltics. The invasion of Soviet troops took place on June 17 1940, followed by the installation of a puppet government backed by the Soviet Union, which declared Estonia a Soviet state. The commencement of Soviet occupation was accompanied by arrests of the

⁴⁰On Sovietisation of Estonia see Mertelsman, Olaf. 2003. *The Sovietization of the Baltic States: 1940-1956*. Tartu: KLEIO ajalookirjanduse sihtasutus; Mertelsmann, Olaf. 2012. *Everyday life in Stalinist Estonia*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

local elite, nationalising of the economy and mass deportations in June 1941. After the four-year occupation of Nazi Germany, from 1941 to 1944, the Sovietisation continued the terror, deportations, and collectivisation in 1949.

In Estonia as in other Baltic States and Eastern Europe, Sovietisation deviated from its classical model used before WW II, since the specifics of those countries precluded the mechanical application of previously applied governing principles. The specifics of the 'Baltic problem' as listed by Jelena Zubkova (2002: 184) were orientation to the West, the weak position of communist ideology and parties, the strong tendency towards independent statehood and the presence of active armed opposition against the Sovietisation policy. According to Zubkova (2009: 98) a distinction can be made between two periods during the Sovietisation process. The first phase, called 'cautious Sovietisation', started in 1944 with the re-occupation of Estonia by the Red army, and lasted until mid 1947. The special feature of the period was Moscow's desire to recognise the 'national characteristics' of Baltic republics during which Soviets tried not to force collectivisation, looked for dialogue with intelligentsia, avoided extensive repression and supported the participation of officials of local origin at the level of local power institutions. The repressive moment in Moscow's politics toward Eastern Europe and Baltics was the year 1947 when the attempts by Soviet authorities to unify the Eastern European and Soviet regimes led to more extreme methods in conducting Sovietisation.

The event of local importance having a major effect on the political and cultural climate of Estonia during the period under investigation was a decision taken on the basis of the VIII plenum of the Estonian Communist Party in March 1950. The decision was in fact arrived at after the ideological push to abolish national barriers and to create a homogeneous entity. The campaign against local nationalism, described as 'Estonian guilt', followed the 'guilt' campaign against Leningrad (Kuuli, 2005: 62). The consequence was the replacement of the previous government consisting of Estonian-minded personnel, with more Soviet-minded individuals. The year 1950 marked also the end of a relatively liberal cultural climate (ibid.). The decrees of the all-Union (that is, USSR-wide) Communist Party announced during ideological campaigns in 1946, 1948 and 1949 were reflected in the announcements at the local level - by the Estonian Communist Party (ECP), but the Estonian-minded Party officialdom who tried to protect the Estonian cultural sphere from the most severe damage, applied the directives in a relatively mild form. The so-called soft critique was, however, replaced by the fierce ideological assaults in 1950 during which a large sector of the writers,

artists and composers active in pre-Soviet times were accused of being representatives of ‘bourgeois cosmopolitanism’ (ibid.: 63).

Based on critical ideological changes of the late-Stalinist era, the dynamics of Sovietisation, and shifts in jazz discourse I will propose a periodisation dividing the historical period from 1944 to 1953 into three stages: the ‘post-Estonian’ era and the continuation of a jazz tradition; the beginning of Zhdanovshchina and the call for the ‘Sovietising’ of jazz; the ‘Great Friendship’ campaign and anti-jazz reforms; and the accomplishment of Sovietisation and the disappearance of jazz from public discourse.

2.2.4 Cold War

The fourth historical term partly characterising the period under investigation is the Cold War, the rivalry for world domination between East and West following the Second World War. As a tension between the Soviet bloc on the one hand and the American-dominated ‘Free World’ on the other, it manifested itself in ideological, political, economic, military, as well as cultural actions. Historians have no consensus about when the Cold War began or ended, or which side was responsible for starting it. But in any case, according to general consensus, 1947-1991 were the years of the Cold War and it was caused by Soviet expansionism.⁴¹

During the Cold War both blocs developed certain representations of themselves, ‘the Self’ and ‘the Other’. For example the Eastern bloc defined itself in terms of the fight for peace, and the West in terms of the fight for democracy. While for the East, the West came to represent an imperialist war camp, for the West the East became the anti-democratic totalitarian camp (Kraovsky, 2012: 213). The thinking in binary categories, which I am trying to deconstruct in my study, has its roots in these conditions of the Cold War.

The way jazz was represented in Estonian public media of late 1940s (SIII) responds exactly to the paradigms embraced by Eastern bloc during Cold War opposition. Jazz as a representative of the cultural Other was seen explicitly as enemy, as a music of the imperialist camp which, therefore, was inappropriate for consumption in Soviet society. Cold War

⁴¹On the Cold War see for instance Whitfield, Stephen. 1991. *The Culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Leffler, Melvyn P. & Westad, Odd Arne. 2010. *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 1-4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Vowinckel, Annette, Payk, Marcus P., & Lindenberger, Thomas. 2012. *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European societies*. New York: Berghahn Books.

ideology also invokes oppositional binaries such as counterculture/mainstream-culture and resistance/support.

2.3 CULTURE

2.3.1 Theorising Soviet culture

The theoretical model crucial in interpreting the entire jazz culture in my project is the actor centred model of culture of Ann Swidler (1986; SIV, SV). Swidler extends the field beyond previous models that saw culture as the goal or end of social action (Weber, 1978; Parsons, 1951; Geertz 1973). Swidler's theory makes the cultural actor the starting point of analysis.

Swidler's (1986) model employs the idea of 'culture in action' where culture is seen as a resource from which social actors draw when they are in the process of action. Actors have their own strategies for selection from a cultural repertoire: 'they may be sceptical, they can reject, blame, or selectively employ aspects of culture rather than simply accepting cultural tools as they find them' (Swidler, 2001: 19). Strategies for action drawn from a cultural repertoire are particular to specific situations. For instance the strategy which I refer to as 'getting-by' was not just passive acceptance of the cultural repertoire but the means by which musicians managed effectively to manipulate the local socio-cultural conditions for their own advantage. This illustrates Swidler's claim that culture is not a static system pushing people in one consistent direction, but rather full of contradictions, and, likewise, people are not receiving culture passively (Swidler 1986: 277). It demonstrates the freedom of the actors to select from a cultural repertoire and not just to surrender to the socio-political conditions and Soviet hegemonic cultural paradigms.

My avoidance of binary models in analysing Soviet society draws on the work of Yurchak (2006), who articulates a succinct critique of the use of binary categories⁴² that dominate accounts of Soviet socialism produced in scholarship of Western origin. He resists schematic binaries such as oppression and resistance, repression and freedom, the state and the people, official economy and second economy, official culture and counterculture, totalitarian language and counterlanguage, public self and private self, truth and lies, reality and dissimulation, morality and corruption (Yurchak, 2006: 5). By the examples of Yurchak the Soviet citizens are often portrayed either simply as mouthpieces for the party's ideas and

⁴²For a critique of binary models see also Plamper (2009).

slogans, or as ‘non-conforming’ dissidents acting in opposition to official falsehood (ibid.: 6). The roots of binary constructions of Soviet society seem to be based on the essential principle of the division between state and society. The attempts of the regime to erase the past, as in the Estonian case, and to shift peoples’ focus away from the present with stories about a utopian future, created the gap between officially promoted pseudo-reality and the everyday life of the citizens. Those conditions which forced people to live in a divided reality facilitated the growth of specific behavioural patterns for efficient manoeuvring in the society by the social actors.⁴³

Yurchak applies John Austin’s speech act theory as a part of his theoretical model. Following Austin, Yurchak differentiated between ‘constative’ and ‘performative’ meaning in discourse.⁴⁴ In Yurchak’s interpretation these two dimensions of discourse form no new binaries but they are seen rather as mutually productive coexisting entities whose emergence is dependent on the context (2006: 23). While I find problematic Yurchak’s tendency to leave aside the role of the social actor itself—the significance of the agent behind the discursive utterances, his argument for thinking beyond simple binaries informs my approach.

My attempt to escape the constraints of binary conceptual models relies also on Swidler’s model of culture. The greatest advantage of the model is in its ability to avoid evaluative categorisations and to shift the focus to the goals and successes of actions of the social agent. In other words, what matters is the benefit of certain ‘tools’ selected from the cultural ‘tool-box’ and not the origin of the tools themselves. To illustrate this statement, let me turn to the example from my argument that during the late 1940s Estonian jazz musicians made their selections and shaped their strategies of action according to the conditions available at that time. Whether their ‘tools’ for acting originate from jazz practices, the cultural heritage of Estonia, or the Sovietised sociocultural environment, was of less relevance than the success of the selected strategies in the fulfilment of their goal - to play jazz. In this case the dualistic interpretations in terms of consent/dissent, oppression/resistance or truth/lie are irrelevant: attention is first on musical engagement and ‘getting-by’ in the given conditions.

⁴³The split between state and society has been sometimes conceptualised as double mental standards - a phenomenon also referred to as double-mindedness or double-facedness-- a socio-psychological mechanism for the adaptation of people living concurrently by the ideals and norms of two absolutely different cultural configurations causing the emergence of ambivalent thinking and behaviour (Aarelaid, 2000).

⁴⁴According to Austin’s theory constative acts are statements that can be true or false; performative acts, instead, do not describe anything but produce an action. A constative statement could be for instance ‘This computer is white’, because I can see the computer. ‘Performative statements’ are ones that produce certain behaviours, like the sign ‘Don’t Walk’. The idea of being wrong or right doesn’t apply to these.

The other way out of the binary tensions, especially those related to private and public realms, is to turn to the conception of culture in Soviet society. Within the framework of clear-cut demarcations in the social realm, culture on the one hand was meant to be a 'cultural educator' for the populace and was rigorously governed by the communist party, but on the other hand continued to be developed further by creative intelligentsia. As such it functioned as a mediator between the public and private spheres. In that context I see culture as a buffer zone, between the forces 'from below' and 'from above'. Although the apparent goals of the ideology and cultural actors diverged, their aims coincided in terms of their content. The aim from above was to raise the level of the people's *kulturnost* (in English something like 'culturedness'), while the people's intense desire for cultural involvement was the initiative 'from below'.

Probably the most powerful and most frequently exploited paradigm representing binary thinking in Soviet studies involves resistance. Although this has made a significant contribution to our understanding of life under Stalin, nevertheless it has attracted criticism in recent Soviet studies (Lindberg, 2009; Mertelsmann, 2003; Kotkin, 1995; Fürst, 2006). Johnston (2011: xxiv), for instance, points out that 'most Soviet citizens neither supported or resisted Soviet power, they simply got by'. In my opinion, Johnston is also right in stating that the interpretation of the enthusiasm of many Soviet people for foreign cultural products as a form of resistance against Soviet state is an oversimplification: Western-produced films, music and fashion provided just 'light relief in the otherwise bleak circumstances of the post-war USSR' (ibid.: 200) and were not meant to be counteractivities to the power of the regime.

That jazz musicians in Estonia had no intention of resisting the regime either publicly or privately is expressed, for instance, in the interview with Uno Loop who clearly refers to the retrospective nature of the usage of the term. As he claimed, 'Although now, in retrospect, our involvement with non-tolerated music could be interpreted as a protest against the system, but in those days we did not think about it.'⁴⁵ Living in those times jazz musicians thus generally made no ideological or political declarations with their music and had no wish to link the meaning of their music to resistance. The interaction with the regime in terms of resistance or support was something which remained beyond their field of action. According to Adrian Popan who talks about jazz in Romania, the aim of the musicians was not to oppose communist ideology but to colour 'the grey world of Cold War with ideologically free manifestations' (2011: 212).

⁴⁵ Author's interview with Uno Loop, 01.10.2011

The 'cultural spaces of action' is a framework which I consider to be the most important theoretical innovation in my entire project (SV). The model is derived from the sociological model that distinguishes between public and private realms. The distinction has been posited as a perennial model in Western thought, and has long been 'a point of entry into many of the key issues of social and political analysis, of moral and political debate, and the ordering of everyday life' (Weintraub, 1997: 1). This is in spite of the argument that there is no sphere of action that can be called exclusively private or public (Bailey, 2002: 15). However, the major use of the binary has been to demarcate the boundary between the political and non-political (ibid: 3).

As claimed by Vladimir Shalpendokh (1989: 3) 'The distinction between the public and private spheres is of crucial importance for understanding Soviet society' (see similarly Corner, 2009: 5). In reality, however, the private sphere was preserved even while individuals were compelled to relate to the state in some way, often resulting in a highly stressful tension between the two spheres (Shalpendokh, 1989: 6). The application of the concept of public/private to Soviet society has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate, and has been found to be problematic, since the public/private divide evolved within the framework of Western European history (Fürst, 2006; Segelbaum, 2006; Oswald & Voronkov, 2004; Jõesalu & Kõresaar, 2011). The different conceptualisations of public and private spheres in the West and Soviet contexts has been examined by Ingrid Oswald & Viktor Voronkov (2002: 105), for whom the distinction is related to social spaces ruled by different concepts of law. In Soviet society the public, or 'official' sphere was regulated by formal law and repression through state authorities, while all other social realms were regulated by norms of everyday life based largely on informal custom. The same distinction between social spaces exists also in Western societies, but as the authors argue, 'in Western societies, informal customary law is a traditional source of law existing side-by-side with the formal lawmaking process; customary law does not expand at the expense of formal law-making. Rather customary law has been confined by the latter, at least historically.' In the Soviet Union, by contrast, the social spheres governed by norms of everyday life expanded at the expense of the realms of formal law (ibid.).

However, the portrayal of Soviet society in terms of the dualistic model of social spaces, in which one sphere was formed by the ideology-driven propaganda machine of the regime and another by the everyday experiences of the people, is an obvious oversimplification. Some scholars have applied an approach whereby one sphere has dominance over another. Those using the Cold-War-influenced totalitarian model consider the

absence of a private sphere as an inherent feature of Soviet-type societies; they see the private Soviet individual as being under the total control of the official sphere of party and state (Shlapendokh, 1989; Garcelon, 1997). By contrast, Lewis Siegelbaum (2006: 4) argues that although broader private spheres emerged during the post-Stalin era, they were not entirely missing even during the days of Stalinism.

Recent studies provide more nuanced models instead of a simplistic dual divide. Oswald & Voronkov (2004: 106), for instance, state that during the post-Stalinist period a 'second' public sphere referred to as private-public developed: the public sphere of 'real life' clearly diverged from the first public sphere or 'official-public'. A similar triple model is provided also by Elena Zdravomyslova & Viktor Voronkov (2002) who propose the term informal public realm including an oral culture, family circles and also public social settings such as cafes, salons, exhibitions and concerts, which could never be totally controlled (ibid.: 52).

In my study I will conceptualise the private/public divide in a more nuanced way, relying on basic assumptions that creative cultures, including jazz, need to act concurrently in both social realms in order to form their full creative cycle. Preparatory procedures for acquiring jazz musicianship such as learning musical skills or practising, remain more or less in the territory of the private realm, while the building infrastructure and the act of performance - the dissemination of creative production - usually takes place in public spaces.

I distinguish between four spaces forming the jazz-world in late-Stalinist Estonia. The common denominator of the first two is 'regulation from above': both - the public media sphere represented in this study by the texts of *Sirp ja Vasar* and the state-sanctioned musical space of professional orchestras (musical public sphere) - acted in the public sphere and were guided by official Soviet cultural politics. The third space, referred to here according to Zdravomyslova & Voronkov as an informal public realm, is formed by non-state-sponsored jazz groups performing in informal scenes such as dancehalls, cafes, restaurants. Finally, the most private part of the jazz-world functioned at the level of interaction between musical individuals or friendship groups, and preparatory musical or non-musical activities supporting the processes of development of jazz musicianship and musical identity. But none of these realms is to be seen as hermetically sealed from each other and no antagonistic relationships are constructed between them. Rather, these different spaces of action are in a dynamic, interactive tension which characterises the entire jazz realm. They represent an interplay between various forces pursuing their interests, sometimes conflicting, sometimes harmonised, and in shifting balances between subordinate and dominant.

While this model of four ‘cultural spaces of action’ of jazz can be referred to as a synchronic representation of the public/private divide, the dynamic between the realms in temporal progression in terms of continuity/discontinuity, divergence/overlap or dissent /consent is the diachronic aspect of interaction (SV). Late-Stalinism was probably the most dynamic period in the entire Soviet (Estonian) jazz history. As demonstrated in the article SV the dynamic between the realms of jazz changed during the mid-1940s, when jazz was played freely and discussed without restrictions in the public press, to the situation where the word jazz disappeared from the public arena by 1950. The disappearance from the public horizon, nevertheless, had no implications for the larger jazz scene: the music was still practised in private spaces.

2.3.2 Soviet culture in ‘action’

The instrument for Soviet power to define itself and to implement its goals was ideology. Ideology, as interpreted in the Soviet context, is an official dogma of Marxism-Leninism to which the Soviet leadership, party and state are formally committed. All the social realms were subject to its absolute authority. But the official doctrine was not something stable and static - as Stephen White and Alex Pravda have stated, ‘the official ideology is not simply a determinant of the Soviet political process, but rather a political construct whose changing nature reflects the varying impacts of the groups, institutions and individuals within the Soviet system over the years’ (1988: vii).

In cultural spheres, including the musical, the state accomplished its control first through the administrative mechanism of power. In a liberal society the free market is the basis of trade, and the process of artistic production follows capitalist economic patterns of supply and demand. In a closed economy such as in the USSR however, it was the state that is the sole employer and patron of the arts, assigning a limited budget for commissions, printing and performances. Like the Soviet economy in general, which was based on a system of state ownership of the means of production, state control of investment, collective farming, industrial manufacturing and centralised administrative planning, the cultural economy was also centrally planned, production was owned by the state and financial resources were under the rigid state control. The Soviet Union was thus characterised by a system of state ‘command control’ of production and distribution (Cushman, 1995: 37). In comparison to Western societies where production and dissemination were part of the music industry, in Soviet society some elements of the industry - the companies and individuals that make

money by creating and selling music - were almost non-existent. Thomas Cushman (1995: 38) proposes the use of the term cultural industry in the singular and not in plural form since the culture industry in USSR was controlled by the state and not by the logic of the marketplace. I will, however, suggest that we cannot talk about a music industry in the usual sense, at least in the period of late-Stalinism when in the conditions of rigid control and no record industry⁴⁶, production and dissemination followed to its own socialist logic.⁴⁷

But there were some deviations from the rigid state regulations and even some elements of the marketplace existed in the cultural sphere. Ojakäär, for instance, tells of the manager of the jazz group *Kuldne 7* Harry Toome, a person with great business talent who had already begun his activities during the Estonian era: 'Toome would have been a millionaire without Stalin's intervention' (2008: 28). As an ingenious organiser Toome managed to find for *Kuldne 7* a host institution –the Central Cultural House of Jaan Tomp - arranged gigs in school dancing parties and evenings of comedy, took care of financial matters, advertising and transportation. His ingenious opportunism was exemplified in Ojakäär's account of how the group was transported to one gig in Nõmme gymnasium. Toome managed to get hold of the city bus, which was temporarily diverted from its regular route, using bribery (a widespread practice in acquiring certain goods and services in the conditions of Soviet scarcity), involving for instance, a box of chocolates, difficult-to-obtain perfume a bottle of vodka or just Soviet roubles. Toome was trusted by the group, as Ojakäär says, 'Our full trust belonged to Toome. We never asked him how much he earned, but he did not do it definitely without his own profit. I remember that once he even rewarded us with a bonus equal to one-hour gig' (ibid.). His activities, however, clashed later with the 'proper' conduct of a Soviet citizen and he was jailed.

The state mechanism of governance in the USSR, which had to follow the ideological prescriptions of the communist party, was a highly regulated and complex hierarchical system. My purpose here is not to delve into its details, but primarily to concentrate on the apparatus of cultural regulation at the local executive level; that is, how the administration of culture in Estonia functioned in general and in the field of jazz. The entire field of cultural administration was subordinated to the decisions promulgated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CCCP). But as Kreegipuu (2007: 376) mentions, it is somewhat unclear what was the acceptable extent of independent decision-making for local institutions. Although the party apparatus of throughout the whole Soviet Union required the obedience of

⁴⁶ The only Soviet record label Melodiy was established in 1964.

⁴⁷ The avoidance of the term industry is also advocated by Beumers (2005: 11).

its executive administrative divisions, the local governmental system had some latitude in their own decision-making. The regulation of cultural sectors took place through three major administrative units (see Table 1).⁴⁸ The first unit, referred to as the partial governance, followed the commands of the CCCP and its highest executive institution in Estonia between party conferences and plenums was the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. The administrative institution for the field of ideology and propaganda was the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. The department was divided into five units: propaganda, agitation, political education, higher education and science, and journalism.

The government institutions formed the second unit of cultural governance. The Council of People's Commissars of Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Government of the Arts were the two sub-organisations of respective central All-Union organisations, operating at the local level of cultural administration. According to the regulations the task of Government of the Arts was to administer theatres, art museums and the schools of music. Among the goals of Government of the Arts were, for instance, inspection and approval of the repertoire of theatres and concert organisations; to arrange art exhibitions, artistic competitions and other events in both professional and amateur fields; to commission works from musicians, artists and writers; to give permissions for opening or closing of the cultural and educational institutions; to arrange performances for visiting collectives; to determine the cost of the tickets for artistic events. Therefore Government of the Arts was not just a controlling unit but in addition it took care of commissioning and disseminating cultural production. Also under the management of Government of the Arts was the department of censorship. Its purpose was to monitor the repertoire of theatres and musical collectives, and the content of creative products. The department of censorship functioned as superior to Government of Arts.

While the Government of the Arts was the unit administering the 'high' professional creative culture, the general cultural education of Soviet citizens was regulated by the administrative unit, subordinate to The Council of People's Commissars of Estonian Soviet

⁴⁸ The overview is based on Kreegipuu, Tiiu. 2007. Eesti kultuurielu sovetiseerimine: Nõukogude kultuuripoliitika eesmärgid ja institutsionaalne raamistik aastatel 1944-1954. In *Eesti NSV aastatel 1940-1953: Sovetiseerimise mehhanismid ja tagajärjed Nõukogude Liidu ja Ida-Euroopa kontekstis*, ed, Tõnu Tannberg, 352-388. Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv. See also Tarvel, Enn. 2002. *Eestimaa Kommunistliku Partei Keskkomitee organisatsiooniline struktuur 1940-1991*. Tallinn : Kistler-Ritso Eesti Sihtasutus.

Socialist Republic, called The Committee of Institutions of Cultural Education, formed in 1945. The Committee of Institutions of Cultural Education administered the culture houses, libraries and museums, and was responsible for preparing working plans, controlling the institutions and educating specialists working for their cultural institutions.

Finally, the third administrative unit for regulating culture was the system of creative unions.⁴⁹ The relevant organisation in the musical sector was the Union of Soviet Estonian Composers, which was in turn the sub-organisation of the Composers Union of the USSR. The Union of Soviet Estonian Composers was the organisation for assembling the creative intelligentsia - the composers and musicologists - into a centralised institution for the purpose of extending the circle of people drawn into state controlled organisations for the more effective dissemination of Soviet cultural paradigms. Although the organising committee of The Union of Soviet Estonian Composers was created in 1941, the organisation itself was established in 1944 in Leningrad. Every creative union had under its control the economic organisation. For The Union of Soviet Estonian Composers it was the Estonian Department of *Musfond* of the USSR⁵⁰ that was responsible for economic matters. Despite its Soviet format the Union of Composers became an influential organisation financed generously by *Musfond*.⁵¹

Cultural governance was thus very bureaucratic with a large number of administrative units. It contained complex multilevel hierarchies which sometimes duplicated each other. For example, the public journalistic space was under the control of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of Central Committee of Estonian Communist Party; JOESP, as a state owned jazz orchestra, was a collective under the direction of Estonian Philharmony administered by Government of Arts; the activities of amateur orchestras, including the band called Mickeys, took place mainly in the culture houses regulated by The Committee of Institutions of Cultural Education and the censorship procedures such as the inspection of programs were regulated by Government of Arts Government of Arts department of censorship. Furthermore, several jazz musicians of the time, for instance Uno Naissoo and Valter Ojakäär, were, as music professionals, also members of the Union of Soviet Estonian Composers. Thus, analysis of the production of jazz in the context of the system of Soviet cultural administration

⁴⁹ The system of creative unions was founded in Soviet Union in 1932.

⁵⁰ Particular to Soviet administrative systems was the double subordination. The Estonian Department of *Musfond* of USSR was under the control of both the Composers Union of Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (ESSR) and the Composers Union of the USSR. Composers Union of ESSR was for instance under the control of the Composers Union of USSR and Government of Arts.

⁵¹ Urve Lippus Muusika Nõukogude Eestis. okupatsioon.ee/et/eesti-1940-1991/12-muusika. Checked 19.01.2015

discloses the great variations and complexities in institutional affiliations of members of the jazz sector.

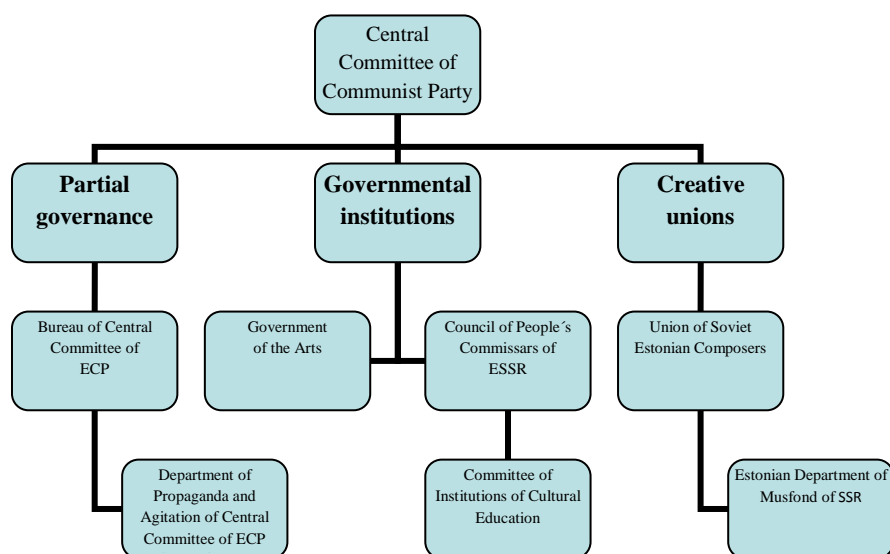


Table 1. Cultural governance of Soviet Estonia.

The means by which aesthetic control over the arts in the Soviet Union was exercised was the ideological doctrine called Socialist Realism.⁵² When it first appeared in 1934 it was the basic model for Soviet literature and literary criticism. Socialist Realism demanded from the artist a truthful, historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development, but which must, however, serve the goals of ideological change and education of the workers in the spirit of socialism (Volkov, 2004: 16). Levon Hakobian (1998: 96) points out the distinction between the empirical reality of Socialist Realism and its, so to speak, ‘mythology’. According to him ‘The former had always been extremely confused and dependent on political and ideological conjuncture; the latter was formed spontaneously, without any directives, at the very outset of the Soviet age and, in general outline, remained unchanged notwithstanding all the historical vicissitudes’ (ibid.). For the Soviet artist Socialist Realism was the definition of how their art was supposed to affect the people of the Soviet Union. In the musical community the government believed the overarching reality of any work should be ‘national in form, socialist in context’ (Frolova Walker, 2007: 313). Richard Taruskin

⁵²It appeared for the first time in a directive article published in Literaturnaya gazeta (Literary newspaper) on 25 May 1932 (Hakobian, 1998: 96).

suggested that the basis of Socialist Realism was often ‘support of the victorious progressive principles of reality, towards all things heroic, bright, and beautiful’ (1997: 95). That Socialist Realism actually never functioned as a coherent theory is pointed out by Russian music history scholar Marina Frolova-Walker (1998: 368).

Although I will provide an overview of Socialist Realism in the article SII, what is missing there is a discussion of the concept of formalism. Socialist Realism and the doctrine of formalism are incomplete when examined separately. While Socialist Realism prescribed the true principles of Soviet arts, formalism was meant to signify the antithesis of Socialist Realism - out-of-touch art that was not easily understood or appreciated. Formalism, in a very broad sense, encompassed all abstract ideas and feelings that are either difficult to understand or are beyond the social-cultural norms of a particular society. In Soviet musical discourse a formalist piece of art would depict an idea that was not consistent with the ultimate goals of Socialist Realism. Musically, formalism referred to music having no specific harmonic structure or texture, the absence of regularly perceived patterns in music (Taruskin, 1997: 373). The usefulness of deploying the Socialist Realism/formalism dichotomy as a way of conceptualising or analysing jazz in the Soviet Union is questionable. But the charges against formalist music of ‘rootless cosmopolitanism’ (Frolova Walker, 2007: 247) and its cultivation in the interest of capitalism clearly had relevance to the ideological attacks against jazz.

The state system that exercised final control over creative output was censorship (SIII), which was immensely powerful in the Soviet Union, seeking to control every aspect of life in the society. This total system of ideological control, including propaganda, operated as a mechanism for influencing mass consciousness through formal and informal restrictions, and the purposeful regulation of information. Kaljo Veskimägi (1996: 9) refers to it as permanent censorship because it embraced not only printed production but all the public media - radio, newspapers, journals, and artistic creative production. Under particularly close scrutiny were literary and art groups and organizations. The institution of censorship was given various labels during its existence (Kreegipuu, 2007: 380). The most widely used in historical and literary studies is the name of its central office, known for short as *Glavlit* (Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs).

Despite the totalist aspiration of censorship its grip varied greatly. As my case studies demonstrated, its level of control varied in different cultural spaces. Ojakäär’s example (SIII) demonstrates censorship-in-action in public journalistic space - the ways authors were made to ‘correct’ their output and adapt it to the current ideological paradigm. Ojakäär describes

how his article on jazz history for *Sirp ja Vasar*⁵³ was rewritten as a result of intense persuasion of the editor and the censoring process after which he recognised only 25 per cent of his initial text. Although the final version of the article had very little to do with Ojakäär's own original thoughts, he seemed not to take this amiss and was, instead, glad to receive his first experience in journalistic writing.

In the public musical sphere, as demonstrated by the example of JOESP (SV), censorship functioned in the form of control over the repertoire. As a state-owned musical collective touring throughout the USSR, JOESP had to pass two censorship procedures. Their repertoire was first inspected at the local level before the special committee. The second compatibility assessment was held in Leningrad before high level censorship officials. The example reported by Udo Treufeldt (SV) demonstrates the loosest mode of censorship. All the amateur groups had to present their repertoire lists for examination by a special committee at the People's Commissariat for Education. As the humorous story of Treufeldt recounts, the officials were often incompetent in music and made their decisions solely by the titles of the pieces.

A particular mode of censorship - self-censorship - was also massively powerful in Soviet society. Not only was mass consciousness infected by its demoralising and destructive effect, but the creative intelligentsia too had to make compromises between ideology-driven norms and its own artistic aims. In conditions where nobody could foresee if their artwork would ever reach the audiences, or what form and content it would have after passing through the censorship process, the artists were often wary about their own works, and to alleviate their anxiety would bring it into conformity with ideological norms (Gorjajeva, 2009: 135). It would be hypocritical to claim that in the conditions of the Soviet regime people - even the most honourable and honest of them - made no compromises. Gorjajeva (ibid.) claims that, although by common consent censorship and its agent *Glavlit* were privately resented, public controversy was avoided for the sake of survival, at least until the end of Stalinism. Both the creative intelligentsia and their audiences were familiar with the unwritten rules of the game called Soviet censorship and tried to regulate their own agency and social behaviour in the public sphere in accordance with the requirements of censorship. However, the 'big ears' of censors were most often not trained enough to hear the more subtle 'ideological dissonances' and this in turn expanded the creative space for the artists. The deafness of censors, sometimes feigned, enabled a black market of records, secret listening to foreign radio

⁵³ Kutse tantsule. *Sirp ja Vasar*, 24 April 1948.

stations and the reading of ‘underground’ literature. The functions of self-censorship in Soviet society were different from those in democratic societies where self-censorship translates information passing between its sources and receivers. It is a compensating mechanism which, by relying on ethics and aesthetic norms, legal acts and administrative rules, allows both sides to participate in the process of communication (ibid.: 136).

The issue of self-censorship arises during the evaluation of the authenticity of the texts in the almanac of Swing Club (SIV). Considering the Soviet-minded manner of expression, especially in the jazz critical articles of Heldur Karmo the question emerges whether the disputations on the pages of the almanac reflect the real positions of the musicians and if this Soviet mode of expression was an essential part of their verbal communication. One possible answer is that it was self-censorship that pushed SC members to mask their real views and adopt the ‘red’ vocabulary.

The issues on jazz and popular culture are extensively discussed in the article SII. I find this overview, based only on one source - *Pop Culture Russia!: Media, Arts, and Lifestyle* of Birgit Beumers (2005), insufficient and open to challenge here. First, terms with the adjective ‘popular’ such as ‘popular culture’ (*popularnaja kultura*) or ‘popular music’ (*popularnaja muzyka*) in particular were not widely used in the Soviet Union. In the field of popular type of musical forms there were several phrases signifying the music what we now call popular music. The terms used in the Estonian cultural context were *levimuusika* (mass disseminated, for example radio broadcast, or ‘low’ culture music), *keremuusika* (light music), *meeleolumuusika* (‘mood’ music). For more specific definitions we find in the Estonian vocabulary *estraadimuusika* (estrada-music), *tantsumuusika* (dance music), *massilaul* (mass song); the groups playing in a popular style were called *vokaal-instrumentaalansambel* (vocal-instrumental ensemble).

The word jazz itself had two meanings—it was used to refer to a musical style and to an orchestra playing jazz (SIII). Jazz could be appropriate to almost all the above-mentioned terms: it makes no great difference whether to refer to jazz as a part of *levimuusika*, *keremuusika* or *meeleolumuusika*. Jazz was performed in the context of *estrada*-arenas (JOESP for instance) and therefore fell within the category of *estraadimuusika*. When the music was played to an accompaniment of dances it also qualified as a dance music (for instance the music of the group Mickeys).

While in Western society one of the dominant cultural distinctions is art versus commercial, in the Soviet Union where culture incorporated a relatively slight commercial element, it tends to be useful to use the high-low (popular) model instead. The latter avoids a

profit-oriented inflection in the cultural distinction. David Macdonald (1998) and Birgit Beumers both refer also to mass culture when talking about low culture. Macdonald, for instance, points out the difference between mass culture in the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, declaring that the former serves commercial aims and the latter, the political (SII). In musical culture, as in other cultural forms, the category of high dominated the popular: classical music was held in higher esteem and its often ideological orientation was considered as a standard for musical evaluation in general. This is illustrated in Heldur Karmo's attempt (SIV) to elevate the light genre of swing to the status of art form by adapting the swing aesthetic to Soviet musical paradigms. It is useful here to draw a parallel with American jazz discourse, where the 'classicising' of music was part of the process of legitimising jazz in academic discourse.

The other important cultural distinction in the Soviet Union was between professional and amateur culture. This was based on financial considerations - whether the collectives/individuals were on the payroll of a state owned institution or their musical activities took the form of a hobby. The important role of amateur activities and the high artistic level of amateur output were factors making the professional-amateur distinction important in Soviet society. According to my model of 'cultural spaces of action' (SV), the musical public realm was the space for professional music-making where musicians made their living by working in a state owned orchestra (JOESP). The informal public realm provided a space for amateur collectives who made music as a hobby and derived some additional income by playing in dance *haltuura*'s.

In defining the role of jazz in the Soviet musical field Beumers (2005) draws the simplistic conclusion that jazz was music for young intellectuals rather than music for dances (SII). This statement is not consistent with the results of my own research, which demonstrated that jazz formed a firmly established part of dance culture (SV). As a concert music jazz participated in the *estrada*-music (SIII) realm and in an intellectualised form it was a subject of discussion for jazz fans (SIII; SV). The other arguments I would challenge are the claims Beumers makes about jazz as a forbidden practice or underground music, and Irina Novikova's (2003) conceptualisation of Soviet jazz in terms of a counterculture. I regard such statements as too general, examples of the discourse which simplistically opposes Soviet politics to jazz. They reflect the jazz-as-resistance paradigm, invoking the dualistic model of thinking about cultural processes in Soviet society.

The article SII points out some particularities of Soviet Estonian culture. Among those are the geographical distance from the ideological centre in Moscow, the strong cultural

orientation to the West and the high consciousness of Estonian nation. Those were reasons that Estonia experienced a less rigid stranglehold of 'red' ideology, why the country was referred to as the 'Soviet West' in the context of USSR and why the creation and consumption of culture were very active in the Soviet era.

3 METHODS AND MATERIALS

I open the chapter with an outline of the disciplinary field underlying the study: New Cultural History (NCH; 3.1), which I see as an umbrella-term bringing together historiographical movements of recent decades. NCH is about meanings and interpretations; it reacts against the idea of superstructure by expanding the area of culture and individual freedom and focuses on historical actors instead of searching for a ‘master narrative’. Section 3.1 also discusses the main philosophical worldviews proposed in the study - constructionism and cultural relativism.

The keyword epitomising my second research perspective is transnational (3.2). Although I make no explicit reference to the term in the articles, nevertheless the concept frames the goals of this research project. Although fluid in its very nature, the most stable aspect of the term ‘transnational’ is its attempt to de-centralise the aspect of national. The final sections (3.3, 3.4) include the overview of sources and the methods deployed in particular articles. The two primary concepts presented are source pluralism and microhistory.

3.1 NEW CULTURAL HISTORY

Although the majority of professional historians tend to distrust or even dislike scholarly theorisation,⁵⁴ what Tamm (2007: 15) calls the theoretical self-consciousness is an essential part of the ‘historian’s craft’⁵⁵ since all historical writing has an inseparable linkage to epistemological decisions and ideological preferences. My position here coincides with those who emphasise the role of theorisation and theoretical self-consciousness for a scholar. As an unresearched territory, jazz in Soviet Estonia seems to need legitimation and comprehension provided by historical consciousness through theorising. I support the idea of Peter Burke (2010: 484) who talks about cultural translation as an extremely useful concept, drawing attention to the effort and skill, and also to the difficult decisions involved in the act of explaining cultures. The controversial Soviet period is an often bewildering era, and the dialogic interaction with established scholarly traditions assists in increasing its relevance as an academic subject and in translating it for a broader readership.

Although the theoretical agenda of my study will take advantage of several new directions and changes emerging in historical writing during recent decades, such as cultural

⁵⁴For discussion on this subject see for instance Jacques Le Goff (as cited in Tamm, 2007: 141), Roger Chartier, (as cited in Tamm 2007: 45-46), Fellmann & Rahikainen, (2012: 1).

⁵⁵The term is initially used by Marc Bloch (Bloch, Mark. 1992. *The Historian’s Craft*. Manchester: Manchester University Press)

turn, linguistic turn and postmodernism, I consider New Cultural History⁵⁶ something of an umbrella-term merging those historiographical endeavours by integrating the historians who rely on an interdisciplinary approach, understand culture in a broad anthropological sense, and are interested, first of all, in meanings and interpretations (Tamm, 2004: 118). Also the discipline of musicology has been assimilating the assumptions of NCH. ‘The new cultural history of music’ combines the theoretical perspectives and methodologies from the ‘new cultural history’, ‘new musicology’ of the 1980s together with recent social, sociological and anthropological theories (Fulcher, 2011). Finnish music historian Jukka Sarjala states that the cultural history of music is about meaning-making and it falls between cultural musicology, ethnomusicology and traditional music history (2002: 178). Therefore, I move away from what Burke calls traditional or Rankean history - history that is concerned with politics, thinks of history as essentially a narrative of events, offers a view from above, based on ‘the documents’, asks a limited range of questions, considers itself objective and is the territory of professionals (Burke, 2001: 3-6).

The postulates of the cultural turn,⁵⁷ referring to the transition from social history to cultural history in the 1970s, help me to focus not on discovering objective facts and truth but on subjective human meanings, by describing the everyday practices of the musicians, their actions and the meanings musicians give to their actions. In accordance with the objective of cultural history⁵⁸ of redrawing the boundaries between culture and society, my study subscribes to the project of challenging the domination of social and political structure over culture and actors. In addition the principles of the new historiographical traditions allow me to use a great variety of evidence including private and public texts, oral interviews, personal documents, radio broadcasts, and to rely on a interdisciplinary approach by combining methods and theoretical perspectives from different disciplines such as jazz studies, Soviet studies, studies in Estonian history and history studies. Although the reduction of the importance of the centre and the application of micro-analysis has been critiqued (Fass, 2003: 39), I nonetheless find those to be important elements underpinning the study.

⁵⁶Although most popular in Anglo-American cultural space, NCH has gained popularity also in Germany and France. It is important to mention the role of studies in cultural history in Finland where the University of Turku founded the Department of Cultural History as early as 1971, and where proliferating research has led to the publication of a considerable body of scholarly work (Tamm, 2004: 118). See for instance Immonen, Kari & Leskelä-Kärki, Maarit. 2001. *Kulttuurihistoria: johdatus tutkimukseen*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

⁵⁷For further explanation of the term see for example Viik, Tõnu. 2011. Kultuuriline pööre. In *Humanitaarteaduste metodoloogia*, ed Marek Tamm, 59-79. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus; Kaartinen, Marjo and Korhonen, Anu. 2005. *Historian kirjoittamisesta*. Turku : Kirja-Aurora; Rubin, Miri 2002. What is Cultural History Now. In *What is History Now?*, ed. David Cannadine, 80-94. Palgrave: Macmillan.

⁵⁸For an overview of cultural history see Burke, Peter. 1997. *Varieties of Cultural History*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press; Burke, Peter. 2004. *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

In terms of philosophical worldview the study relies on the ideas of constructionism and cultural relativism. According to Burke (2001: 3) the philosophical foundation of the new history is the idea of reality as socially and culturally constructed. From the post-empiricist perspective history is constructed by the historian through concepts created in the language they use, and which can only function during the process of historical explanation through our narratives. Narrative is a fundamental way of representing human experience (Ricoeur 1981: 288). In accepting the narrative nature of historical writing I see history writing not as a simple act of storytelling but also as an act of interpretation.⁵⁹ Not fully accepting Walter Benjamin's (1968: 87) claim that the transmission of information has nothing to do with the art of storytelling I nonetheless agree with him that best storytellers interpret and their interpretation is not didactic, but more like what a pianist does when (s)he 'interprets' a musical composition. Making here a parallel with jazz music, where the metaphor of 'storytelling' is a common term in jazz pedagogy, I will juxtapose the historian's interpretation with the improvisation over the 'jazz theme' where the intermingled materials include the pre-existing tune, stylistic tradition, and musicians' own repertoire of musicianship - imagination, inspiration and technical skills. Similarly, I see my storytelling as an interpretation situating pre-existing sources in a certain scholarly framework, and applying my knowledge, skills and imagination to produce new knowledge - that is discovering the meaning of the research subject. Therefore, my interpretation is guided by the central ideas of constructionist history which state that history forms as a result of dialogue between the historian and the past, as the result of the historian's imaginative and constructive engagement with the evidence (Munslow, 2000: 53).

Neither supporting the empiricist view which claims that the past is given and we can know about the past only through evidence, nor the extreme constructionism stating that history is only about relationships between the texts, I will draw on Roger Chartier (1997) who sees historical texts as constructions on the past forming a representation of the past, not its reality. I agree here also with Jean-Claude Schmitt⁶⁰ for whom the historical discourse is created as a tension between the view that history is just about detecting the facts and forming the story based on those facts, and that history-writing is a presentation of history in which form determines the content. The former view, that historical fact corresponds to what

⁵⁹The term 'interpretation' makes direct reference to hermeneutic research which concentrates on historical meanings of experience and their developmental and cumulative effects on individual and social levels (Kvale, 1996: Polkinghorne 1983).

⁶⁰Jean-Claude Schmitt ajalooteaduse kriisist, Sirp 07.05.2004.

happened in reality, is attributed first of all to Leopold von Ranke. The latter perspective held by Hayden White⁶¹ agrees that that history-writing is just representation of history.

Until the late 20th century, jazz historiography was also Rankean in that it treated the music as a fixed objective reality. It was also essentialist in locating the only significant centre of jazz as the US. The New Jazz Studies as developed by, *inter alia*, DeVaux (1999) and Gabbard (2003), has also drawn upon the approaches of the NCH in emphasising that jazz is not some static reality to be taken for granted, but is a process in which both the music itself and its meaning are undergoing continuous change in ways that are culturally and historically specific.

Cultural relativism is a question about being attentive to the differences of the nature and role of values in different cultures and about approaching actions and conceptualisations as products of specific socio-cultural situation. I will draw on three features of cultural relativism in my study. First, cultural diversity: different societies have different worldviews and values, which is why jazz itself is so heterogeneous. In different cultural contexts it takes on local features that, in US-centric terms, dilute the ‘authenticity’ of the music. In those terms, there are aspects of Estonian jazz practice in the post-war period which look ‘inauthentic’, but which can equally be regarded as culturally specific innovation generated by local conditions. Examples include the special importance of the professional/amateur binary (2.3.1), of censorship (2.3.2) of administrative regulation (2.3.2).

The second aspect of relativism that informs my study is prescriptive cultural relativism (Baghramian, 2004: 90). This takes a non-judgemental position towards the people under the study, in order to achieve a greater degree of objectivity. This is especially relevant to the study of Soviet era history. The motivations of social actors in the Soviet dictatorship are deeply ambiguous. Furthermore a non-judgemental approach also helps to pre-empt binary modes of thinking, as in the nuancing of the public/private binary in this study (2.3.1).

The last feature of relativism relevant here can be articulated as a reaction against assumption that the explanation of our patterns of action and thought is to be found in the culture to which we belong and not our nature or biological make-up. I specifically reject this deterministic model of socialisation which has been criticised by several authors⁶² for failing to take into account the role of our genetic endowment and our innate propensities. Furthermore it discounts the free will of the actor and her/his strategies of action selected from the cultural repertoire available.

⁶¹ White, Hayden. 1972. *Metahistory : the historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*. London : Johns Hopkins University Press.

⁶²See for example Adams, Moody. 1997. *Fieldwork in Familiar Places*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

3.2 WRITING HISTORY FROM A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Transnational history is a relatively recent and still developing field of study. Historians began to apply the term widely in the early 1990s, inspired by Akira Iriye's (1989: 2) influential call for a new type of historical research that is meaningful across national boundaries. The exact meaning of 'transnational history' remains controversial. Simon Macdonald (2013), sees it as an umbrella term embracing and borrowing from a number of related approaches. Patricia Clavin (2005: 44) has stated that the value of transnationalism 'lies in its openness as a historical concept'. But she also critiques the concept for excessive looseness with 'almost as many meanings as there are instances of it'. Instead of debating the concept various participants have adopted a pragmatic approach. For them it is more important to promote and produce empirical studies that follow a transnational model than to be distracted by a conceptual debate. Iriye and Saunier (2009: xviii) propose a relatively open definition, suggesting that transnational history deals with the 'links and flows', the 'people, ideas, products, processes and patterns that operate over, across, through, beyond, above, under, or in-between polities and societies'. Pierre-Yves Saunier (2006) calls for the application of a transnational perspective in historiography: a 'transnational angle cares for movements and forces that cut across national boundaries' (ibid: 119). While I don't see my study as simply a transnational history project, I see this formulation as informing the work, as explained below.

This study deploys the central idea of transnational history - de-centralising the idea of the national (Irye, 2004; Tyrrell, 2009). The transnational provides an instructive alternative to structuring historiography around the nation and the national which have been the dominating territorial principles in organising historical knowledge. The application of 'transnational' also reflects the tendencies in Estonian historiography to cross borders for a broader international perspective. The principle of de-centralising the national, however, does not exclude the national, but discourages hierarchically organised judgements.

The idea of 'links and flows' intersects the study, in that the transnational approach attends to movements and forces that cut across national boundaries (Saunier, 2006: 120). Jazz, although born in the US, went beyond US national boundaries immediately, and became a cultural/musical form that musically represented international modernity. The study also exploits the capability of transnational research to synthesise existing methodologies associated with national, local or regional historiographies (Macdonald, 2013: 9, 3). The present study of a global musical form in a national historical context and in regional socio-

political conditions intersects with three spheres of knowledge, thus emphasising the transnational nature of the subject. It is an amalgamation of Estonian, Soviet and jazz historiographical traditions.

3.3 SOURCES, CLASSIFICATION OF SOURCES

Historical sources can be anything, in whatever form, that has been left behind by the past to add to our knowledge of the past. However, it is up to the historians as to whether or not historical testimony becomes a productive source of that knowledge. The source has no capacity to talk by itself; its meaning is created by interpretation in a chosen context (Ricoeur, 1998: 23). Sources for Soviet history are profoundly tendentious (Vseviiov 1999: 118), but by judicious and critical scholarly treatment, these sources are potentially valuable in developing different views of history and theories about the field. As I argue in article SIII, the reading of Soviet era public texts must take into account that they were imbued with Soviet ideology and its rhetoric. Johnston (2011: 170-2) distinguishes three categories of verbal assaults on the West. The first emphasised the economic and racial exploitation under capitalism (ibid.: 170). The second target was capitalist democracy with special attention to American politics, and the third was the economy-driven nature of capitalist society - its pursuit of profit above all. These are all referred to in the writings of *Sirp ja Vasar* (SIII). Maarja Lõhmus (2002: 58) proposes, furthermore that the journalistic language in the Soviet era was different from that of the real life. Totalitarian public texts were strictly controlled and their meaning over-determined in the interests of the Party in order to avoid ambiguities.

That it is insufficient to rely just on written sources in investigating the Soviet era is noted by a number of authors (Tarvel, 2005; Annuk, 2003; Mertelsman, 2012; Johnston, 2011). In a society where double standards were normative, the legally published materials represented only the official public sphere and therefore do not provide a reliable overview of Soviet reality. The exploration of the sources of private origin, such as the interviews, memories and private documents of the people experiencing Soviet life, is necessary for a more nuanced account. Although the methods of oral history have been often questioned, 'oral witness testimony' can be of crucial importance and for various reasons, not necessarily any less reliable than propaganda-driven official records. As oral historian Alessandro Portelli (1981: 97) argues, oral history is valuable because 'it tells us less about events as such than about their meaning [...] the unique and precious element which oral sources force upon the historian [...] is the speaker's subjectivity.' Corner (2009: 12), however, warns against the

limitations and variations of memory which are especially significant in the case of dictatorships. Most people have a tendency to see themselves as victims of dictatorships rather than perpetrators, guilt is inevitably attached to someone else. Furthermore, these memories can be highly personalised and often distorted by time; there is always the risk of idealisation. The interviews conducted for the present study nonetheless demonstrated the tendency of the interviewees to cast themselves more as perpetrators rather than victims. Their general bias to see the Soviet era life through the prism of humour and their neutral attitude towards politics, are clear signs of the musicians' focus on the realisation of their musical goals rather than on suffering under the conditions of Soviet dictatorship.

I utilize several distinct source bases (the media, memories, personal documents and interviews) to highlight the meaning of jazz in Soviet society and reveal how musicians lived their everyday lives. Primary sources in my study include the Almanac of Swing Club, interviews with the musicians, radio broadcasts, newspaper articles, musical recordings, personal letters. The sources qualifying as secondary are mainly Valter Ojakäär's monograph *Sirp ja saksofon* consisting of memories of Ojakäär himself and his contemporaries.

The Almanac of Swing Club is the main source in article SIII and partly in article SV. In article SIII I first raise some issues about the credibility of the texts: did the texts in the almanac written in the Soviet manner reflect the real positions of the musicians? Instead of seeking to settle the question of the truth value of the texts I attempt to answer the question of *why* musicians deployed Soviet vocabulary in their writing. The study SV, discussing the four cultural spaces of action, draws on oral and written sources, and employs source pluralism. The article SIV uses the writings from the cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* as the main source of information. The first two articles SI and SII are based on readings of secondary sources such as writings on jazz research and Soviet era politics and ideology.

3.4 METHODS APPLIED

In article SV I refer to source pluralism as a main method of research. This method, introduced by Janken Myrdal (2012: 159), combines fragments from different sources and contributes to the present study in several ways. First, it is necessary when, as here, there is such a dearth of sources. Especially in relation to the public musical and the informal public spaces, I therefore used all the relevant sources available. Source pluralism is also valuable in producing a nuanced account of Soviet Estonian jazz culture. The model which I describe as 'cultural spaces of action' clearly requires the use of multiple sources (SV). The first case study in the article SV is based on a brief summary of my own previous article on the public

media sphere and can be seen as a reading of secondary source material. The examples of musical and informal public spaces rely predominantly on interview material. The fourth case on the private sphere rests on private documents and interviews. I find source pluralism especially productive in introducing the everyday life of the musicians. In the case studies on The Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic, the jazz group Mickeys and the friendship circle Swing Club combining the interview material with written sources provides ample empirical evidence.

The methodological approach in two of the articles includes microhistory (SIII, SIV), which arose largely in Europe and the United States in the 1970s and 1980s in reaction not only to the top-down historical narratives common to political history but also to the increasingly quantitative approaches of social history.⁶³ Sigurður Magnússon & Istvan Szíjártó (2013: 4) summarise microhistory as (1) the intensive historical investigation of a relatively well defined smaller object; (2) the search for the answers to ‘great historical questions’ by studying small subjects; (3) the approach emphasising the role of agency. My study on Estonian jazz history can be categorised as a microhistorical project because of its scope. Estonian jazz culture in general can be defined as a ‘micro space’ with marginal global importance. The group of people active in the jazz scene of the time was small and, although the general state of jazz in Estonia of the time needs further investigation, I would venture to suggest that their activities remained quite marginal even in the context of local culture. The second connection with microhistory is the study's focus on agency. I will try to illuminate the challenges musicians encountered in their everyday musical lives and to show the ability of individuals to make meaningful choices and undertake meaningful actions. What also links the study to microhistory is my attempt to combine the explanations of social history and the deciphering of the meanings of cultural history within a single investigation. As Magnússon and Szíjártó (2013: 7) state, microhistory does not seek to separate the analysis of the social and the cultural contexts, but rather it facilitates the blend of social historical and cultural historical approaches.

Article SIII exploits microhistory's focus on a limited set of sources while answering questions of broader dimensions - that is, by focusing on the articles from the cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* I draw conclusions about the process of rupture of jazz as

⁶³On the theory of microhistory see for example Ginzburg, Carlo. 1989. *The Inquisitor as Anthropologist: Cues myths and the Historical Method*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Ginzburg, Carlo. 1996. *Johtolankoja: kirjoituksia mikrohistoriasta ja historiallisesta metodista*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus; Levi, Giovanni. 2001. On Microhistory. In *New Perspective on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, 97-119. Cambridge: Polity Press.

manifesting itself in the public media sphere and identify some of the general features of Estonian jazz culture of the time.

In article SIV I make reference to two elements of microhistory. First, the focus on agency and second, the particular mode of presentation of scholarly texts referred to as *slow* ideology. The concept of *slow* ideology, appearing in the scholarly arena in recent years, provides an opportunity for microhistorians to ‘examine and discuss their subjects minutely, in an enlightened manner’ (Magnússon & Szíjártó 2013: 151). The concept refers to a specific way of constructing a text whereby analysis and narration are combined for the purpose of explicating meanings. The *slow* ideology enables to examine the fragments of the texts of the almanac of Swing Club in detail, and put the text in the context of other knowledge for expanding the web of meanings.

Although I make no direct reference to microhistory in article SV, the case studies on the Jazz Orchestra of Estonian State Philharmony, Mickeys and Swing Club narrate minute ‘micro-stories’ about the everyday lives of the musicians. The focus on the everyday life of the actors can be connected also to *Alltagsgeschichte* - the German school of the history of everyday life. *Alltagsgeschichte*, while being a form of the doctrine of microhistory, focuses specifically on twentieth-century dictatorships, especially the years of Nazism and the history of the German Democratic Republic. According to its founder Alf Lüdtke (1995) *Alltagsgeschichte* emphasises that everyday life is not just a struggle for survival - people are both objects and subjects of their history. It considers structural determinants as neither superior to actions nor as their preconditions, but rather sees these as interlinked parts. The purpose of *Alltagsgeschichte* is therefore to find and demonstrate the links between the everyday experiences of ordinary people in a society, and the broad social and political changes occurring in their society.’

The ‘microscopic’ exploration of the texts in the studies SI, SII, SIII involve the strategies of close reading. As musicologist John Richardson⁶⁴ states, the meaning and application of the term lacks consistency in the contemporary humanities: it has many competing definitions and can have an array of modes of application. As I indicate in the article, the technique of close reading includes several procedures: discovering the system of meanings embedded in the texts; situating the text in its cultural and historical contexts; expanding the web of meanings by extrapolating from the referential potential of the text.

⁶⁴ Based on his presentation available on prezi.com/sdhc6h0ltgz9/close-reading-and-digital-culture/ [checked 12.01.2015]

4 FINDINGS: SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES

Jazz Research and the Moments of Change began by examining the dynamics of the growth of jazz research as a disciplinary field over the past 25 years as it shifted from a primarily non-academic field occupied by jazz journalists and aficionados to a scholarly discipline of transnational scope. Through meta-level discussions based on critical readings of selected scholarly texts I outline two important moments in that development: academisation and globalisation. The final part of that article surveys the state of jazz research in Finland as an example of this broadened scope of jazz scholarship in and beyond national territories.

Before turning to further discussion of the issues raised in the essay, I offer some critical notes on terminology. I have generally used the terms ‘jazz research’ and ‘jazz studies’ more or less interchangeably. Reflecting on it now, I feel that the term jazz research more appropriately applies to the scholarly study of jazz. The term ‘studies’, on the other hand, may apply best to the most recent branch of jazz research, known as ‘New Jazz Studies’. Although the concept of jazz studies may refer to jazz as a scholarly subject, it has taken on the more general sense of an educational field practised in an academic environment.

In the first part of the article I investigated the professionalisation of the field of jazz research. The main catalyst for the change was the discipline’s need for institutional legitimisation. One of the prerequisites for its professionalisation has been to move beyond amateurism. The early writers about jazz were journalists, enthusiasts, and record collectors, usually with no formal musical or scholarly background. But the awakened interest in jazz from a wide variety of disciplines significantly impacted jazz research. A number of writers have explored the question of the relationship between jazz and related fields such as musicology, ethnomusicology or popular music studies. Currently, however, as borders between disciplines blur, such questions seem less urgent. Furthermore, jazz research seems more than ever an independent field with its own institutional and scholarly framework.

Critically examining and problematising canonisation in jazz has also facilitated professionalisation. As Lawrence Levin (1997), among other things, points out, the canon changes constantly according to changing external and internal conditions. I also concur with Gary Tomlinson’s (2002) encouragement of scholars to engage critically with canons divergent from their own and to construct more personal models. The question of blackness in jazz also intersects with canonisation, which is built largely on the argument that jazz is

essentially the music of African Americans and that an underlying racial message pervades the music.

The second moment of evolution in the history of jazz research is globalisation. Despite the global nature of the music itself, its scholarly discourses have been reluctant to expand their range. The main obstacles have been American centrism and cultural colonialism as well as language barriers and nationally oriented scholarly traditions in non-American jazz studies.

I now turn to the implications for writing national narratives of jazz. I share with Hans Weisethaunet (2007) the argument that telling the story from a single nationalistic perspective is insufficient. A transnational perspective, which takes into account broader contexts – the ‘crossings and flows’ as Irye and Saunier (2009) would describe them – will shift the focus away from the narrow national arena and open up fresh new horizons.

Finally, I provide an overview of the state of jazz research in Finland. This example of jazz research as an ‘unimportant margin’ demonstrates that writings of jazz history appear primarily in popular form and in a native language, and has usually focused on jazz as a musical phenomenon.

The article contributes to the entire project in several ways. First, it assists in situating my scholarly work in the field of the jazz research. Using scholarly methodologies, crossing language barriers and avoiding a one-dimensional ‘nationalised history’ are instrumental in both professionalisation and globalisation. Second, the need for jazz research to look beyond one-sided national narratives further sustains my attempt to decentralise the idea of the national. Likewise, transnational history and studies of Estonian history as well as jazz research into diasporic jazz should expand the range of interpretative possibilities. Third, this article can be considered a literature review.

As indicated in its introduction, the main objective of the article **Ideology and the cultural study of Soviet Estonian jazz** is to ‘provide a contextual framework to enable meaningful discussion of jazz as a cultural phenomenon in the Soviet Union’ (2011: 25). In the introductory section, I present some thoughts about the current state of jazz discourse and critique its US-centredness. By discussing the connectedness of jazz to social and cultural life, I bring such discussions to the culture of Soviet Estonia. The article is structured around four main subjects: Estonian cultural particularities, ‘red’ ideology and its relation to jazz, jazz and popular culture, and jazz and Socialist Realism. Two crucial issues relating to Soviet culture not covered in the article are cultural administration and censorship (for an overview of these

issues, see Section 2.3.2) as the direct modes of control over culture. The study is based primarily on the reading of secondary sources. The number of sources, however, is limited, so I have taken a non-evaluative approach to them. In the following examination, however, I attempt to compensate for these deficiencies.

The particularities of Estonian culture listed in the first section include geographical location (Estonia's distance from Moscow), the high level of cultural activism and the historical linkage of Estonia to Western culture rather than to Slavic culture, which gave Estonian the unofficial title of the 'Soviet West'.

The section on ideology and jazz discusses the important role of ideology in cultural life and concludes, in agreement with Peet Lepik, that 'ideology is the backbone of the self-reflexiveness of Soviet culture' (2011: 28). Although jazz was a relatively marginal cultural phenomenon in the Soviet Union, it became the object of interest for Soviet authorities depending on the political climate and the interpretation of class and racial aspects of jazz. I will add here that jazz was just one of several instruments of anti-American propaganda during the Cold War. It was sensitive to ideological shifts. And it was not only the racial dimension that annoyed party authorities; the entire aesthetic, musical and cultural arsenal of jazz was incompatible with Soviet ideological paradigms.

I now consider that one could usefully supplement this article's enquiry into jazz and popular culture in many ways. First, by some explanation of the term 'popular' in the Soviet cultural context (Section 2.3.2). As indicated above, the term 'popular' itself was rarely used in the Soviet Union. Although I discuss the high-low musical dichotomy in the article, the professional-amateur distinction also plays an important role in Soviet Estonian musical culture. In my critique of Beumers's statements, I draw attention to issues which I think one can further problematise. My research challenges not only her 'jazz as resistance' model (2.3.2), but also her claim about official culture being kitsch and provoking resistance and disdain. For example, the performances of state-owned orchestras, as in the example of the Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic, were very popular throughout the USSR, and no-one seems to have regarded their music as kitsch.

The final section of the article focused on the Soviet ideological doctrine of Socialist Realism. The main supplementary discussion that would enhance this section is a discussion of its antithesis: formalism (2.3.2). Formalism was primarily understood as characterising art that represented abstract ideas and feelings incompatible with Soviet ideology. Formalism was in fact a term frequently applied to jazz as part Soviet anti-jazz rhetoric.

The conclusion of the article could benefit from revision. The role of ideology in culture and jazz, as I understand it now, was not as overwhelming as the ideology suggests. I also agree that the role of ideology though undeniable is always necessary to question the actual extent of the implementation of ideology. The study is narrated predominantly from the ‘from above’ perspective, which in the Soviet case refers to only one aspect of society. As the article SV indicates, culture in the USSR has multiple spaces for action, and the view ‘from above’ is insufficient for an adequate understanding. These various ‘cultural spaces of action’ should also serve in decoding Valter Ojakäär’s paradoxical statement that ‘jazz was not allowed in the Soviet Union, but neither was it forbidden.’ The operation of multiple levels of action enabled jazz to be simultaneously allowed and forbidden in Soviet society.

Late-Stalinist ideological campaigns and the rupture of jazz: ‘jazz-talk’ in the Soviet Estonian cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* builds on the concept of rupture. The term is understood here as the temporary disappearance of jazz from the micro-space of the public press in Soviet Estonia. The study discloses this rupture through jazz-related writings published in the Estonian cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* between 1944 and 1953. As a part of the public realm, the journalistic discourse served as a conduit for Soviet ideology and was subject to the administration’s rigid control. The direct subordination of the public press to party politics accounts for why the slightest shift in the ideological breeze shaped the content of journalistic writings. My study showed, for example, that the first ideological decree in 1946 resulted in relatively minor changes in journalistic discourse. Jazz was still discussed publicly, but the focus shifted from the hitherto musical reviews to calls for modification of the music to fit Soviet musical paradigms. More robust was the attack against music in 1948, which had a major impact, leading finally to the extinguishment of the music from the public press.

The primarily ideology-related political events of the late-Stalinist era were the extensive political campaigns initiated by the ideologically driven regulation of cultural affairs called Zhdanovshchina in 1946. The three Stalinist campaigns (see also Section 2.2.2) were the assault against two literary magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* in 1946, the decision about Vano Muradeli’s opera *Great Friendship* in 1948 and the campaign against cosmopolitanism in 1949. These had direct parallels with the publication of jazz-related articles in *Sirp ja Vasar*. Each of the three articles since 1946 – ‘About Jazz Music’, ‘Call to dance’ and ‘On present-day American jazz’ – can be interpreted as successive reactions to the promulgation of each new decree.

The jazz rupture happened gradually as a result of ideological assaults combined with the Sovietisation of Estonia. The study outlines four stages in this process, defined according to sociopolitical turning points in 1946, 1948 and 1950: the ‘post-Estonian’ era and the continuation of jazz tradition; the beginning of Zhdanovshchina and the call for the ‘Sovietisation’ of jazz; the ‘Great Friendship’ campaign and anti-jazz reforms; and the accomplishment of Sovietisation and the disappearance of jazz from public discourse. These four stages also functioned as a structuring principle of the article.

To represent the nature of jazz writings, I provided direct citations illustrating the Soviet jazz-inimical rhetoric. From a broader perspective, verbal assaults against jazz fall into two kind of categories: those generally denigrating the West and those specifically directed against the musical and cultural aspects of jazz. Ojakäär’s ‘On present-day American jazz music’ was the most strident anti-West writing. As its main purpose was anti-American and anti-capitalist propaganda, the article condemned American racial injustice and manipulated jazz history to fit Soviet ideological paradigms. The rhetoric is clearly exemplified in the last sentence ‘Modern American jazz music is a vivid reflection of the condescending mentality of American bourgeois society and its rapid approach to decline.’ Common anti-jazz vocabulary incorporated terms such as formalism (‘jazz is the style that still contains the remnants of formalism’), condemnation of the foxtrot and other Western dances (‘eccentric Western foxtrots’), and critique of the style of American jazz orchestras (‘worn-out patterns of American jazz orchestras’).

Despite the main focus of the study, which is to describe the process of rupture by articulating the linkage between journalistic discourse and ideological attacks, I also offer some reflections on the musical life of the period. Jazz was in favour and practised without constraint until 1946. The USSR’s co-operation with the Allies fostered the appearance of a politically liberal period when jazz was even considered a symbol of the Allies’ friendship. The pattern of continuity in Estonian jazz life during that period was also evident in terms of musical personnel; the Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic, for instance, was a successor to the Jazz Orchestra of Estonian State Art Ensembles in Yaroslavl, and *Kuldne 7* had already been established in 1936. The choice of musical repertoire and the stylistic approach of Estonian jazz groups was greatly influenced by Glen Miller’s music in *Sun Valley Serenade*.

The anti-jazz attacks of 1948 erased the word jazz from the official name of the state-owned Eesti Raadio džässorkester. ‘Jazz’ was replaced instead with the more appropriate ‘estrada’, a general term in the USSR describing entertainment in the form of public stage

performance. What has been described as a reform of Soviet orchestras included changes in instrumentation and repertoire. Because of the elimination of saxophone sections and the addition of violins, the sound palette of the orchestra changed, rendering it less jazzy.

Jazz was practised in two different formats and occasions. The first was concert jazz, played by state-sponsored orchestras in formal concert venues (by the Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic and the Estonian Radio Jazz Orchestra). The second type of jazz was played in dance venues by smaller bands such as *Kuldne 7*. Dancing was very popular after WWII, but underwent reform in the Soviet Union of the late 1940s, which renamed and replaced several popular dances with old ballroom dances.

I point out how the Soviet *estrada*-orchestra aesthetic parallels the jazz-with-strings trends in the American jazz tradition of the 1940s and early 1950s. While jazz-with-strings was a popular commercial trend in the US, in the USSR it was a form of state-sanctioned entertainment. Although the anti-jazz rhetoric of the music's opponents occurred globally, the distinctiveness of the Soviet rhetoric was its delivery by state-supported ideology. In Western societies, anti-jazz rhetoric came from certain social groups such as the Catholic conservatives in Ireland. My study shows that the white vs. black paradigm common in US jazz discourse can be replaced in the Estonian case with the more relevant class-based bourgeois vs. proletarian dichotomy. The black issue was not racially defined, but rather extended from the class struggle.

In response to the basic question in the study (How was jazz constructed in public discourse during the late-Stalinist era in Soviet Estonia?), I can say briefly that its status was in flux. While between the years 1944 and 1946 jazz was constructed as a tolerated musical form, in the years 1946 to 1950, Soviet anti-Western propaganda labelled it as Western bourgeois music. The Soviet public anti-jazz campaigns succeeded; the music disappeared from public discourse for three years. The link between ideology, discourse and culture, which together form the essence of the second question, is evident in the immediate reaction of the public press to ideological decrees and the implementation of anti-dance and orchestra reforms.

With the Swing Club's almanac as primary evidence, the article **Swing Club and the meaning of jazz in late 1940s Estonia** asks questions about the meaning of jazz in Soviet Estonia of the late 1940s. I focus on how Estonian jazz musicians discussed jazz in the creative space available during the repressive historical period.

The complexity of interpreting the almanac is the first topic of discussion. The problematic relationship between the Soviet rhetoric and the private origin of the text is the main difficulty in understanding the text. I resolve this dilemma by avoiding thinking in binary categories and invoking Swidler's 'strategies of action' model. Implementing of these models shifts the focus away from simplistic false/true binary models and focuses on actors whose main strategies of action aim to 'get-by' under the existing social conditions in order to realise their musical goals.

An example of the musicians' everyday practices is their formation of the group Swing Club. As the story reveals, the group was formed by the initiative of like-minded persons for whom playing and theorising about jazz were essential parts of their musical self-actualisation.

The example of the intellectualisation of jazz is the discussion on bebop. The main method of exploring bebop was to contrast it with swing. Attacking everything American was a tool for expressing musicians' disdain of bebop. Swing, instead, was exalted and also comported with Soviet musical paradigms. Relating bebop to capitalist values was, however, contrary to American jazz discourse, which portrayed bebop rather than swing as progressive.

For jazz 'philosopher' Heldur Karmo, jazz meant primarily dance music. The music was seen as a light genre which should nevertheless meet the criteria of high art. While in American discourse, jazz achieved the status of high art with the advent of bebop, Karmo argues for the high-art status of swing. According to my interpretation, the appropriation of jazz into classical music paradigms aimed to make the music resonate with the principles of Soviet musical standards and to give it legitimacy. Interestingly, Karmo's diatribe against the domination of American jazz resonates with today's critics of US-centred jazz discourses (see, for example, Nicholson 2005: x).⁶⁵

For Estonians the musical style signifying jazz and representing the aesthetic platform for evaluating the music was swing. Musicians associated swing with qualities such as consistency of form and content, refinement, development and the detailed elaboration of musical ideas. The style referred to as *filiisstiil*, named after the American accordion virtuoso Ernie Felicé, seemed to fulfil the artistic goals of Swing Club in the late 1940s: it was *soliidne* (cultivated), optimistic and popular in timbre, and accordion based. My critique targets simplistic descriptions of jazz based on narrow technical parameters and a critical vocabulary inadequate to convey its aesthetics. The value of adjectival assessments in the form of

⁶⁵ For a critique of American domination in jazz, see, for instance/e.g., Nicholson, Stuart. 2014. *Jazz and Culture in a Global Age*. Lebanon: Northeastern University Press.

simplistic binaries such as good/bad, beautiful/ugly or right/wrong is limited and lacks the ability to express musical qualities.

The article **Four spaces four meanings: Narrating jazz of late-Stalinist Estonia** proposes two related arguments. With regard to discrepancies between public and private spheres, I submit that for a holistic understanding of the state of jazz in Soviet society the examination of both realms, ‘from below’ and ‘from above’, is necessary. The second argument questions the simplistic model of seeing music as resistance against the regime. I propose a framework which I describe as ‘cultural spaces of action’ to challenge the opinion that Soviet power dominated all of society and to show how culture functioned as a multilevel phenomenon. As an extension of the sociological model of the spheres of communication, my version distinguishes four spaces in which the jazz world of late-Stalinist Estonia operated. The public press and state-sanctioned professional orchestras were both part of the public realm and regulated by official Soviet cultural politics. The third space, an informal public realm, was formed by non-state-sponsored jazz groups performing in informal scenes such as dancehalls, cafes and restaurants. The last cultural space was a territory for music-related activities and more private in nature. This was the space where musicians socialised with each other and educated themselves musically.

What can be considered a third argument is to regard totalitarianism not as a static entity, but as a process during which Soviets tried to totalise Estonian society in the second half of the 1940s as a part of the Sovietisation project. As the study showed, the Soviet Estonian society of the late-Stalinist era was arguably insufficiently totalised to be considered as totalitarian; society may have looked totalitarian ‘from above’, but not ‘from below’.

In public journalistic discourse, jazz became a tool in the hands of ideologues playing manipulative games. Its main strategy was to stay in step with changes in political discourse, reflecting Zhdanovshchina in the domestic policy and the Cold War in the foreign policies of the USSR. Jazz was seen less as a musical phenomenon than as a suspicious phenomenon with inappropriate connotations.

Jazz was practised in public musical spaces on concert stages by state-owned collectives such as the Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic. The activities of JOESP were strictly controlled by the state, which monitored its repertoire, and the orchestra reform ‘from above’ adjusted repertoire and instrumentation. The transnational scope of Estonian jazz can be illustrated by the fact that JOESP was predominantly a pan-USSR touring collective.

The dance orchestra Mickeys exemplified the informal public cultural space. One of the strategies of the group was to take advantage of official conditions that allowed them access to free practice rooms, to borrow instruments and to hire a professional leader-arranger. Compared to JOESP, Mickeys enjoyed more freedom of action. Even playing in *haltuuras*, for instance, demonstrates the existence of something like a free-market environment: musicians earned money by playing at dances outside of state regulation. While dance reform required Mickeys to add some formal ballroom dances to their repertoire, the band ignored the ban on saxophones and jazz-related tunes. I call the other strategy of Mickeys ‘getting-by’: using their creative skills, sense of humour and adaptability to Soviet society.

The meaning of jazz for the members of Swing Club, the group selected to represent the private space, emerged from intellectualising, discussing, and listening to jazz through radio stations, as well as inventing technological devices for the sole purpose of learning to play jazz.

In short, the study tends to confirm my arguments about the need for a nuanced approach to Estonian jazz culture. To view culture from a holistic perspective and to challenge mythologisations arising from as well as producing binary thinking, I used my framework of ‘cultural spaces of action’ and Ann Swidler’s actor-centred cultural model. Dividing culture into four phases enabled me to represent jazz as a phenomenon operating in multiple spaces and producing multiple meanings. The focus on cultural actors demolished the superficial pattern by which structure and agency are seen as strictly oppositional, with agency subordinate to structure. As the study showed, the perspectives ‘from below’ and ‘from above’ are both crucial in forming a holistic view of Soviet Estonian jazz culture and in overcoming binary conceptualisations. For musicians, the primary motivator was their desire for musical self-actualisation through jazz. They developed their ‘strategies of action’ by interacting with jazz practices in a Sovietised socio-cultural environment.

The analysis of temporal progression between cultural spaces indicated that although jazz eradicated from public realms – in 1948 from the musical and in 1950 from the journalistic space – it remained in both the informal public and private spheres.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

As part of early 20th century global trends, jazz was first received, then adopted and finally practised by musicians of diverse nationalities all over the world. According to Rasula, ‘jazz connected itself to particular aspects of twentieth century experience; jazz’s identity lay in its existence as a consequence of, a commentary on, even a symbol of the changes that were taking place’ (2002: 55). But the reception of the music in non-US territories was never homogeneous; the music has always been in open dialogue with different traditions during acculturation process. Therefore the appropriation of jazz to local cultural contexts, the evolution of its identity involved negotiations between jazz tradition, local socio-cultural contexts, and the strategies of musical actors.

I argue that the meanings of Soviet Estonian jazz were mediated through several interactions between categories such as state and actors. I have extensively discussed the connections between jazz and the state, for instance, through the examination of late-Stalinist ideological campaigns and the Soviet model of culture. It is important to note that a crucial feature of state/jazz linkage was its dynamism. This connection was not fixed, but changed according to changes in the Soviet political paradigm. Rapid shifts in Soviet political discourse turned the status of jazz from a tolerated musical form at the close of WWII to *musica non grata* by 1950. This dynamic unfolded over four periods (SI-IV) marked by crucial turning points in the ideological discourse. The upheavals of 1946, 1948 and 1950, and their impact on jazz, led me to refer to these periods as the ‘post-Estonian’ era and the continuation of the jazz tradition; the beginning of Zhdanovshchina and the call for the ‘Sovietising’ of jazz, the ‘Great Friendship’ campaign and anti-jazz reforms, and the accomplishment of Sovietisation and the disappearance of jazz from public discourse.

Soviet authorities treated culture first as propaganda and educational channel for shaping peoples’ consciousness to fit the Soviet mentality. Support was targeted primarily to high culture, which was perceived as loyal or neutral in content. Jazz, as a ‘low’ cultural form of Western origin, hardly suited this model. The interaction between jazz and the Soviet cultural model was manifested through rigid regulations and strict censorship aimed at controlling the production and dissemination of the music. As the study has shown, the cultural governance was a very bureaucratic and complex system, and every public sector of jazz was under the governance of different administrative units. Censorship, as another executive tool for exercising control over culture, regulated content and the form of

production. While censorship was most aggressive in public spaces, its grip in more private realms was weaker. In addition, self-censorship was commonplace in the USSR, since creative intelligence had to manoeuvre between ideology-driven norms and its own artistic aims. There were, however, some exceptions to the rule: the state was unable to control all public musical production, and some element of the marketplace operated in the cultural sphere. As this study shows, Mickey earned some money with *haltuuras*, and Harry Toome actively managed the activities of *Kuldne 7*.

The way jazz and the state interacted cannot always be interpreted as state oppression; state ownership of the orchestras and its extensive support for leisure and amateur activities together facilitated the spread of jazz.

The doctrine of Socialist Realism regulated the aesthetic character of artistic production. Jazz, however, had no direct connections with Socialist Realism; rather, it was located in terms of its antithesis, formalism. Formalism was part of the rhetoric of ideology combined with 'dirty words' such as capitalism, cosmopolitanism, Western values and commercialism. By the end of the 1940s, the aesthetic agenda of jazz was considered incompatible with the aims of Soviet ideology. This development led Soviet cultural policy to adopt several strategies such as orchestra reform, dance reform or elimination of the word 'jazz' from public practice in an attempt to eradicate the music.

The link between jazz and musical actors is another area where meanings are emerging. The application of Ann Swidler's actor-centred model of culture enabled me to emphasise the primary role of the musicians themselves in shaping jazz culture. In doing so, musicians selected from the cultural repertoire available to them at that particular place and time. Their aim was musical self-actualisation, and they used several strategies to fulfil their goals. As I have noted previously, their main strategy was to 'get-by'. Estonian jazz fans used inventiveness and humour to 'get-by'. Their primary learning strategies included extensive discussions and theorisations on jazz, as well as listening to the radio. Foreign radio stations became the primary musical source by which musicians could satisfy their hunger for jazz in the closed Soviet social system. Part of the musicians' everyday activity was performing. Performance venues included formal concert stages, dance halls, culture houses, open-air arenas and even gyms. JOESP exemplified touring, in their case all over the Soviet Union, spending most of their time 'on the road'. While in the Western context touring became an integral part of a musician's promotional activity, in the USSR, where touring was financed and highly regulated by the state, the element of promotion was less important. Ritualising their activities was another feature of musicians' 'musical everyday'. For instance, the

practice of opening and closing gigs with signature tunes emphasised the creation of a symbolic idiosyncratic space surrounding Mickeys. This space can also be referred to as Emile Durkheim's (1995) collective effervescence, where ritual is experienced as a heightened awareness of group membership generating emotional arousal.

Musically, the Estonians' preferred swing, and they were great imitators of this American style. The movie *Sun Valley Serenade* was especially influential on taste and repertoire: Glen Miller's music in the movie established itself in the repertoire of Estonian jazz groups, and Miller's style provided a model for arrangers. Bebop, as a new style emerging in the 1940s, remained unappealing because of its complicated sound palette and technical fireworks. Swing versus bebop issues saw extensive discussion in the Swing Club almanac. The two styles were diametrically opposed with swing described as *soliidne* and almost on a par with classical music, whereas bebop represented everything unacceptable, something 'sickly, neurotic, crackbrained, and without any content.'⁶⁶

The model of 'cultural spaces of action', which I consider to be the most significant product of my project, is a framework which discloses the dynamic between the state, jazz and the musical, clarifying several aspects of jazz during the period under investigation. This framework enabled, firstly, the formation of a holistic view of jazz. Showing that jazz culture existed mainly in four forms: journalistic discourse, professional concert music, amateur dance music, and an intellectualised formal educational practice. While the first three forms represent the institutionalised spheres, the last one covers the meanings formed within the non-institutionally defined sphere. As this study showed, the journalistic and public musical space were under the rigid control of the state, and any shifts in political discourse had an immediate impact on those spheres, resulting in the disappearance of jazz from public spaces. The word 'jazz' vanished from the press, the state-owned jazz orchestras underwent orchestra reform, and the dance halls experienced reforms banning modern dances. But as the example of Mickeys demonstrated, the reforms were not always effective in practice; musicians still continued to play jazz for dances. Nor did jazz disappear from private spheres, where musicians continued to educate themselves musically. The 'cultural spaces of action' model also identifies an important marker of Soviet culture: the distinction between amateur and professional.

In addition, the 'cultural spaces of action' model avoids dualistic 'from above'/'from below' constructions and demonstrates that culture is more complex than such binary models

⁶⁶ Swing Club almanac, *Bebopi vastu*, p. 19

can articulate. My model resolves the popular ‘allowed/forbidden’ dilemma of Soviet jazz by indicating that, while publicly forbidden, the music nevertheless survived in private realms.

That jazz was never ‘totalised’ was the final argument that the ‘cultural spaces of action’ framework tended to demonstrate. The Soviet state had no power to achieve total control and a mentality of total loyalty to the state. As Tiiu Kreegipuu declared, ‘The ideological pressure and the terror of the Stalinist years definitely spread fear among the people, but contributed little to achieving a uniform “communist awareness” and forming a coherent and loyal entity of Soviet people’ (2011: 57). Keith Negus (1996: 209) mentions that the problem for Nazi Germany and the Stalinist Soviet Union was ‘their inability to regulate and control the geographical movement of music into their territories.’

The potential of the ‘cultural spaces of action’ framework extends further, however. The application of the model can also improve the analysis of later Soviet historical periods. While transnational contacts were largely absent in the late-Stalinist era (musicians just travelled within the Soviet Union), contacts later extended beyond the borders of the USSR, mainly through foreign groups visiting the country. Therefore, the addition of a fifth cultural space – the transnational space, with jazz festivals and international touring – completed the cultural model. In addition, the development of a Soviet music industry requires the introduction of entities such as television, radio, film and record production into the public media sphere. Although the ‘cultural spaces of action’ framework here applies to jazz in Estonia, this model may also have explanatory potential in analysing other cultural practices in relation to forms of state regulation.

In summary, the core aspect of Soviet Estonian jazz of the late-Stalinist era was its multivocality, as defined through the application of the ‘cultural spaces of action’ model. Important schemata identifying the music include classical/light, professional/amateur, bourgeois/proletarian, swing/bebop, and dance/concert. Although jazz qualified as a light dance and estrada music genre, Soviet cultural policy tried to classicise jazz; the professional/amateur distinction remained an important feature distinguishing primarily the status rather than the artistic level of jazz collectives; bourgeois/proletariat served as a distinction for drawing boundaries around jazz; even though the late 1940s is considered a bebop era, Estonians disliked bebop and found musical models in swing; Estonian jazz comprised both dance and concert music. Musicians’ everyday strategies for self-actualisation included touring, musical learning and listening, ritualising, humour, inventiveness, curiosity, dedication, and intellectualising jazz.

My selected methodological tools, New Cultural History and a transnational perspective, supported the research perspectives in several ways. The principles of NCH encouraged me, first of all, to ask questions about meaning. NCH provided a sufficiently broad framework for combining the different aspects discussed in my articles, and helped me focus on subjective human meanings and interpretations through micro-analysis (microhistory, *slow* ideology). The main outcome of applying a transnational perspective was the de-centralisation of the national. Jazz is also transnational in its very nature, transcending national boundaries. A transnational perspective helped me synthesise methodologies of national, local or regional historiographies. However, applying a transnational perspective was possible only on a meta-level. In a closed society, transnational contacts were missing; no jazz groups from outside the USSR visited Estonia, and no Estonian jazz musicians travelled abroad. Rather, transnational contacts meant, for example, JEOSP tours throughout the multi-national USSR and Soviet collectives visiting Estonia through cultural exchange.

The main empirical tool of this study was source pluralism, a method integrating excerpts from a various types of sources. I combined a wide variety of oral and written sources to shed light on more nuanced understandings of Soviet Estonian jazz culture.

Research on Estonian jazz of the late-Stalinist era remains open-ended, however, and a deeper exploration of, for example, the role of jazz in the Estonian cultural context will require further research. The relative dearth of existing research on Estonian culture of the period unfortunately, prevented me from providing as much contextual information as I would have liked. This study of Estonian jazz would also benefit from more access to the jazz played at the time and some musical analysis. In addition, broadening the spectrum of jazz groups under study, as well as the sources of journalistic discourse and the scale of transnational comparisons, would prove instructive.

REFERENCES

- Aarelaid, Aili. 2000. Topeltnõõtlemlse kujunemine sovetiajal. *Akadeemia*, 4, 755-773.
- Annuk, Eve. 2003. Totalitarismi ja/võõ kolonialismi paine: miks ja kuidas uurida nõukogude aega. In *Võim ja kultuur*, eds. Arvo Kirkmann, Sirje Olesk, 13-40. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, Eesti kultuuriloo ja folkloristika keskus.
- Baghramian, Maria. 2004. *Relativism*. London: Routledge.
- Bailey, John. 2002. From Public To Private: The Development of the Concept of 'Private'. *Social Research*, 69(1), 15-31.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1968. The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov. In *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Walter Benjamin, 84-99. New York: Schocken Books.
- Beumers, Birgit. 2005. *Pop culture Russia!: media, arts, and lifestyle*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.
- Burke, Peter. 2001. Overture. The New History: Its Past and its Future. In *New Perspective on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, 1-24. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Burke, Peter. 2010. Cultural History As Polyphonic History. *Arbor: Ciencia, Pensamiento Y Cultura*, Mayo-Junio, 479-486.
- Chartier, Roger. 1997. *On the Edge of the Cliff.: History, Language, and Practices*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Clavin, Patricia. 2005. Defining Transnationalism. *Contemporary European History*, 14(4), 421-439.
- Corner, Paul. 2009. *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes Fascism, Nazism, Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cushman, Thomas. 1995. *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia*. Albany NY: Sunny Press.
- DeVeaux, Scott. 1991. Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography. *Black American Literature Forum*, 25(3), 525-560.
- DeVeaux, Scott. 2005. Core and Boundaries. *Jazz Research Journal*, 2.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press.
- Edele, Mark. 2007. Soviet Society, Social Structure, and Everyday Life: Major Frameworks Reconsidered. *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 8(2), 349-373.
- Fass, Paula S. 2003. Cultural History/Social History: Some Reflections on a Continuing Dialogue. *Journal of Social History*, 37(1), 39-46.

Fellmann, Susanna & Rahikainen, Mariatta. 2012. *On Historical Writing and Evidence. Historical Knowledge: In Quest of Theory, Method and Evidence*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 2000. *Stalinism. New directions*. London, New York: Routledge.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 2007. Revisionism In Soviet History. *History and Theory*, 46, 77-91.

Frolova Walker, Marina. 2007. *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Frolova Walker, Marina. 1998. National in Form, Socialist in Content: Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 51(2), 331 - 371.

Fulcher, Jane F. 2011. Introduction: Defining the new cultural history of music, its origin, methodologies, and lines of inquiry. In *Oxford handbook of the New cultural history of music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher, 3-14. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fürst, Julianne. 2006. Late Stalinist Society: history policies and people. In *Late Stalinist Russia: society between reconstruction and reinvention*, ed. Julianne Fürst, 4-36. London: Routledge.

Gabbard, Krin. 2003. The word jazz. In *Cambridge companion to jazz*, eds. Mervyn Cooke & David Horn, 1-6. London: Cambridge University Press.

Garcelon, Marc. 1997. Public and Private in Communist and Post-communist society. In *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, eds. Jeff Weintraub & Krishan Kumar, 303-332. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Culture*. New York: Basic Books.

Gorjajeva, Tatjana. 2009. *Politicheskaia tesnizura v SSSR 1917-1991*. Moskva: Rosspen.

Gorlizki, Yoram & Khlevniuk, Oleg. 2005. *Cold peace: Stalin and the Soviet ruling circle 1945-1953*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hakobian, Levon. 1998. *Music of the Soviet Age, 1917-1978*. Stockholm: Kantat.

Herrala, Meri. 2012. *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948: Socialist Realism vs. Western Formalism*. Lewiston: The Edwin Meller Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1996. *The age of extremes: a history of the world, 1914-1991*. New York: Vintage Books.

Hoffmann, David L. 2001. *Stalinism: The essential readings*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Akira Iriye. 1989. The Internationalization of History. *American Historical Review*, 94(1), 1-10.

Iriye, Akira. 2004. Transnational History. *Contemporary European History*, 13, 211–222.

Iriye, Akira & Saunier, Pierre-Yves. 2009. The Professor and the Madman. In *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, eds. Akira Iriye & Pierre-Yves, Saunier, XVII–XX. Basingstoke England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnston, Timothy. 2011. *Being Soviet: Rumour and Everyday Life under Stalin 1939-1953*. London: Oxford University Press.

Jõesalu, Kristi & Kõresaar, Ene. 2011. Privaatne ja avalik nõukogude aja mõistmises ühe Keskastme juhi eluloo näitel. *Methis*, 67-83.

Kasianov, Georgiy & Ther, Philipp. 2009. *A Laboratory of Transnational History: Ukraine and Recent Ukrainian Historiography*. Budapest: CEU Press.

Kasianov, Georgiy. 2010. The Great Famine of 1932-33 and the Holodomor: Memory, History, Identity and State –Building. memoryatwar.org/pdf/Kasianov-paper.pdf [checked 04.05.2015]

Keep, John. 2005. Old Controversies, New Approaches. In *Stalinism. Russian and Western Views at the Turn of the Millenium*, eds. Alter Litvin & John Keep. London, New York: Routledge.

Kotkin, Stephen. 1995. *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*. California: University of California press.

Krakovsky, Roman. 2012. The Peace and the War Camps. The Dichotomous Cold War Culture in Czechoslovakia: 1948-1960. In *Cold War Cultures. Perspectives on Eastern and Western European societies*, eds. Annette Vowinckel, Marcus M. Pay, and Thomas Lindenberger, 213–234. New York: Berghahn Books.

Kreegipuu, Tiiu. 2007. Eesti kultuurielu sovietsiseerimine: nõukogude kultuuripoliitika eesmärgid ja institutsionaalne raamistik aastatel 1944-1954. In *Eesti NSV aastatel 1940-1953: Sovetiseerimise mehhanismid ja tagajärjed: Nõukogude Liidu ja Ida-Euroopa arengute kontekstis*, ed. Tõnu Tannberg, 352 – 388. Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiivi Kirjastus.

Kreegipuu, Tiiu. 2011. The ambivalent role of Estonian press in implementation of the Soviet project. Doctoral Dissertation University of Tartu. dspace.utlib.ee/dspace/bitstream/handle/10062/17929/kreegipuu_tiiu.pdf?sequence=1 [checked 05.05.2015]

Kuuli, Olaf. 2005. Muutuvad partei tekstid (1946-1952). In *Kohanevad tekstid*, eds. Maie Kalda & Virve Sarapik, 259-270. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum.

Kvale, Steinar. 1996. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks California.

Lauk, Tiit. 2008. *Jazz Eestis 1918-1945*. Doctoral dissertation, Tallinn University. e-ait.tlulib.ee/71/2/lauk_tiid2.pdf [checked 05.03.2015]

Lepik, Peet. 2001. Nõukogude kultuur ja ideoloogia. In *Acta Humaniora A19, TPÜ toimetised. Eesti kultuur 1940. Aastate teisel poolel*, ed. Maris Kirme, 9-16. Tallinn: Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool.

Levine, Lawrence W. 1997. *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Lindberger, Tod. 2009. Tacit Minimal Consensus: The Always Precarious East German Dictatorship. In *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes Fascism, Nazism, Communism*, ed. Paul Corner, 208-222. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lowenthal, David. 1998. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lõhmus, Maarja. 2002. *Transformation of Public Text in Totalitarian System: A Socio-Semiotic Study of Soviet Censorship Practices in Estonian Radio in the 1980s*. Doctoral thesis. hot.ee/loehmus/Kirja.PDF [checked 05.03.2015]

Lüdtke, Alf. 1995. *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Macdonald, David. 1998. A theory of mass culture. In *Cultural theory and popular culture*, ed. John Storey, 23-24. London: Prentice Hall.

Macdonald, Simon. 2013. Transnational history: a review of past and present scholarship. ucl.ac.uk/cth/objectives/simon_macdonald_tns_review.

Magnússon, Sigurður Gylf. & Szíjártó Istvan. M. 2013. *What is microhistory?: theory and practice*. London and New York: Routledge.

Mertelsman, Olaf, 2012. *Everyday life in Stalinist Estonia*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Mertelsman, Olaf. 2003 *The Sovietization of the Baltic States: 1940-1956*. Tartu: KLEIO ajalookirjanduse sihtasutus.

Munslow, Alun. 2000. *The Routledge companion to historical studies*. New York: Routledge.

Myrdal, Janken. 2012. Source Pluralism as a Method of Historical Research. In *Historical Knowledge: In Quest of Theory, Method and Evidence*, eds. Susanna Fellmann, & Mariatta Rahikainen, 154-189. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle.

Negus, Keith. 1996. *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Nicholson, Stuart. 2005. *Is Jazz Dead? (or has it moved to a new address)*. London: Routledge.

Novikova, Irina. 2003. Black music, white freedom: Times and spaces of jazz countercultures in the USSR. In, *Blackening Europe: The African American presence (crosscurrents in African American history)*, ed. H. Raphael-Hernandez, 73-84. New York: Routledge.

- Ojakäär, Valter 2000. *Vaibunud viiside kaja*. Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus.
- Ojakäär, Valter. 2003. *Omad viisid võõras väes: 1940–1945*. Tallinn: Kirjatus Ilo.
- Ojakäär, Valter. 2008. *Sirp ja saksofon*. Tallinn: Kirjastus Ilo.
- Ojakäär, Valter. 2010. *Oma laulu leidsime üles: 1950. aastatest tänapäevani*. Tallinn: Ilo.
- Oswald, Ingrid & Voronkov, Viktor. 2004. The 'Public-private' sphere in Soviet and post-Soviet society: Perception and dynamics of 'public' and 'private' in contemporary Russia. *Europea Societies*, 6(1), 97-117.
- Parsons, Talcott. 1951. *The Social System*. New York: Free Press.
- Pettai, Eva-Clarita. 2011. The Convergence of Two Worlds: Historians and Emerging Histories in the Baltic States. In *Forgotten Pages in Baltic History. Inclusion and Exclusion in History*, eds. Martyn Housden and David J. Smith, 263-279. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- Jan Plamper. 2009. Beyond Binaries: Popular Opinion in Stalinism. In *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes*, ed. Paul Corner, 64-80. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Popan, Adrian. 2011. Jazz Revival in Romania 1964 -1971. In *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain*, eds. Gerthrud Pickhan & Rüdiger Ritter, 199-214. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Polkinghorne, Donald. 1983. *Methodology for the human sciences: Systems of inquiry*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Portelli, Alessandro. 1981. The Peculiarities of Oral History. *History Workshop Journal* 12(1), 96-107.
- Rasula, Jed. 2002. The jazz audience. In *Cambridge Companion to Jazz*, eds. Mervyn Cooke & David Horn, 55-68. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 1981. *Hermeneutics and the human science: essays on language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 1998. *History and Truth*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Saluvere, Tiina & Olesk, Sirje. 2011. Millisena paistab meie nõukogude aeg? *Methis*, 7, 5-9.
- Sarjala, Jukka. 2002. *Miten tutkia musiikin historiaa?* Tietolipas 188. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. 2006. Going Transnational? News from Down Under: Transnational History Symposium, Canberra, Australian National University, September, 2004. *Historical Social Research*, 31(2), 118–131.
- Shlapentokh, Vladimir 1989. *Public and Private Life of the Soviet People. Changing Values*

in Post-Stalin Russia. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Siegel, Achim. 1998. *The totalitarian paradigm after the end of Communism*. Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi.

Siegelbaum, Lewis H. 2006. Introduction: Mapping Private Spheres in the Soviet Context. In *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres of Soviet Russia*, ed. Lewis H. Siegelbaum, 1-21. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.

Starr, Frederick S. 1983. *Red & hot: The fate of jazz in Soviet Union*. New York: Limelight.

Swidler, Ann. 1986. Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 273-286.

Swidler, Ann. 2001. *Talk of Love: How Culture Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Taruskin, Richard. 1997. *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Taruskin, Richard. 2010. *On Russian Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tarvel, Enn. 2005. Kas ajalugu saab kirjutada objektiivselt? *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri*, 3, 4-9.

Tamm, Marek. 2004. Peter Burke ja uus kultuuriajalugu. *Tuna*, 4, 118-122.

Tamm, Marek. 2007. *Kuidas kirjutatakse ajalugu? Intervjuuraamat*. Tallinn: Varrak.

Tamm, Marek. 2009. Kellele kuulub Eesti ajalugu? Sissejuhatavaid märkmeid. *Vikerkaar*, 7-8, 53-66.

Tannberg, Tõnu. 2007. *Eesti NSV aastatel 1940-1953: Sovetiseerimise mehhanismid ja tagajärjed: Nõukogude Liidu ja Ida-Euroopa arengute kontekstis*. Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiivi Kirjastus.

Tomlinson, Gary. 2002. Cultural Dialogics and Jazz: A White Historian Signifies. *Black Music Research Journal*, 22, 71-105.

Tomoff, Kirill. 2006. *Creative union: the professional organization of Soviet composers, 1939-1953*. London: Cornell University Press.

Ian Tyrrel. 2009. Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history: theory and practice. *Journal of Global History*, 4(3), 453-474.

Zdravomyslova, Elena & Voronkov, Viktor. 2002. The Informal Public in Soviet Society: Double Morality at Work. *Social Research*, 69(1), 49-69.

Zubkova, Jelena. 2002. Probleemne tsoon: Balti vabariikide sovetiseerimise iseärasused

sõjajärgsetel aastatel 1944-1952. In *Eesti NSV aastatel 1940–1953: sovetiseerimise mehhanismid ja tagajärjed Nõukogude Liidu ja Ida-Euroopa arengute kontekstis*, ed. Tõnu Tannberg, 5-12. Tartu: Eesti ajalooarhiiv.

Zubkova, Jelena. 2009. *Baltimaad ja Kreml 1940-1953*. Tallinn: Varrak.

Veskimägi, Kaljo. 1996. *Nõukogude unelaadne elu: tsensuur Eesti NSV-s ja temaperemehed*. Tallinn: Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda.

Volkov, Solomon. 2004. *Shostakovich and Stalin: the Extraordinary Relationship between the Great Composer and the Brutal Dictator*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Vsevio, David. 2003. Kas Nõukogude aeg on uuritav? *Tuna* 4, 4-5.

Ward, Chris. 1999. *Stalin's Russia*. London: Arnold.

Weintraub, Jeff. 1997. The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private distinction. In *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, eds. Jeff Weintraub & Krishan Kumar, 1-42. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Weisethaunet, Hans. 2007. Historiography and Complexities: why is music national? *Popular Music History*, 2(2), 169-199.

White, Stephen & Pravda, Alex. 1988. *Ideology and Soviet Politics*. London: Macmillan.

Weber, Max. 1978. *Selection in Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yurchak, Aleksei. 2006. *Everything was forever, until it was no more*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.